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DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA  
SPECIAL NUMBER



VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE  
OF SANSKRIT AND INDOLOGICAL STUDIES  
PANJAB UNIVERSITY  
P. O. Sadhu Ashram  
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DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA AT 80



DEDICATED TO

*Dr. Siddheshwar Varma,*  
M.A., D. Litt.

ON HIS ATTAINING HIS 80TH YEAR

IN TOKEN OF HIS

DEVOTED PURSUIT OF ŚABDA-BRAHMAN

AND HIS VALUABLE COOPERATION IN THE

RESEARCH PROGRAMMES OF

VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE







## Dr. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

### *A Biographical Sketch*

For nearly forty years, now, the Vishveshvaranand Institute has had in Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, the renowned doyen of Indian linguists, one who, having spiritually dedicated his entire intellectual being to the Institute, has been and is still actively collaborating in its various work programmes. The Institute had the privilege of paying him its homage, in 1950, by the presentation to him of a collection of 108 research papers on different aspects of Indology issued, in two parts, under the title *Siddha-Bharatī* or *The Rosary of Indology*. This collection had originally to be issued in 1947 towards commemorating his 60th birthday and the delay was caused mainly by the dislocation of the Institute from Lahore.

Now that we have the pleasure and privilege of paying our homage again to Dr. Varma on his attaining the age of 80 by dedicating to him the present Number of our *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, a few words on Dr. Varma's life of rigid self-discipline dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge, his versatility and erudition, and his learned contributions to the study of Sanskrit language and literature in general and to linguistics in particular, may not be out of place.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, known in his early days as Pindi Das, was born at Rawalpindi (now in Pakistan) on November 3, 1887, of a well-to-do family hailing from Tatrāl, a small village near Kaṭasrāī, a place of pilgrimage in the district of Jhelum. He imbibed from his father Shri Ram Das Nanda, the latter's loud voice, physical fitness and indefatigable capacity for work. His deeper qualities of head and heart he owed to his highly religious-minded mother whose disciplined habits and orderly life left an indelible impression on him. It was under the influence of his mother that while he learnt Urdu at school, he picked up, privately at home, a knowledge of Hindi, Gurumukhi and Sanskrit, so much so that at the age of ten he could read out to others the Sanskrit text and the Hindi exposition of the *Gītā*.



A recurring and protracted attack of malaria for three years during his student-days proved to be a blessing in disguise for him for, while he was in the sick-bed, a copy of Ballantyne's English Translation of *Laghu-Kaumudī* fell into his hands. The book caught his fancy and he studied it with absorbing interest. This was followed by a careful and repeated study of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* which was then appearing from Allahabad in its English Translation by S. C. Vasu. This created in him an insatiable passion for the study of Sanskrit language. For English, too, he had great taste and studied intently the classics in that language, wherefore his companions often spoke of him as a 'literary maniac'.

He had an equally intense interest in self-discipline and introspection. He had set apart Sundays for going out for contemplation. A band of friends who liked his way of life formed, under his 'leadership', an 'Association of Thinkers' and met not only for philosophical discussions but, also, for hard physical exercises and cold baths. His sense of punctuality and thoroughness was really wonderful, for he could dare start addressing at the appointed hour even an empty hall if his 'followers' happened to be late.

He had the good fortune of coming, in 1906, under the influence of Dr. Keshav Dev Shastri who was a dynamic personality, public spirited to the core of his heart and possessed of encyclopaedic knowledge. Dr. Shastri was also a fertile correspondent, an enlightened conversationalist and, above all, a loving host. Dr. Varma imbibed fully the spirit and genius of and received abiding impressions on his life from that masterly personality.

He passed his M.A. in History in 1911 and, immediately, went into service with the Shahpura Durbar, partly as Private Secretary to His Highness Raja Sir Nahar Singh Ji and partly as tutor of Prince Shatrunjaya Singh Ji who later became the Raja Sahib of Bijwa (Oudh). After a year, he left this job to take his Shastri Examination which he passed in 1913. Soon after, he joined, as a teacher, the Hindu High School at Gujranwala, of which he became the Headmaster in 1915. But this administrative post was not to his taste as he could not get sufficient time for pursuing his study of Indian philosophy which was his master passion at that time. So, he resigned that post and got another appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at the State College (then known as Prince of Wales College, and now called Gandhi Memorial College) at Jammu, which post he held till his retirement in November 1943. It was



here that he found a real opportunity for full cultural self-expression. A special daily lecture that he had to deliver on 'religious instruction on *secular lines*' was an intense impetus to him for wide reading on cultural subjects and for close contact with young people. By virtue of his aptitude for this line, he was appointed Honorary Secretary for India of the International Moral Education Congress. Being deeply impressed with the idea that the primary object of studying history should be the evolution of culture, he issued, in 1923, a questionnaire on the subject which received good response from different countries.

Having developed a keen appetite for different languages he had acquired fair knowledge of German, French, Greek and Russian by 1924 when he was awarded the 'Language Scholarship' by the Government of India for further study abroad. He joined the London University and, as advised by his professors there, he took up linguistics which was, practically, a new subject for him. That he was a student in the real sense of the term and not a mere degree-hunter was evident from his attending as many as 17 lectures per week instead of 3 as ordinarily required. In 1927, his work there on *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians* was duly recognised by the award to him of the Degree of Doctor of Literature. But more valuable than even this high recognition was the great impression that he made on the minds of his professors R. L. Turner and Daniel Jones who have spoken of him as 'a true lover of knowledge', 'an astounding scholar' and 'a wonderful linguist who had learnt ten Indian and eleven European languages'.

He has since put to ample use his highly trained ears, wonderfully adaptable voice and marvellous memory in studying unfamiliar Indian languages according to modern philological methods. During his most difficult and dangerous research expeditions to the North-Western Himalayas, undertaken at his own expense, he has discovered 27 dialects, 6 of them being Kashmiri, 5 being of the Kangra district and 16 of the Pahārī area, including Bhadrawāhī, Khaṣālī, Khāsī, Khāśī, Pāḍarī and Bhalesī. From the materials collected he produced six glossaries which have since been consolidated into a *Lexicon of North-Western Himalayan Languages* at this Institute for publication in due course. Dr. Varma's linguistic excursions resulted also in the discovery of the relics of a Dravidian dialect in the heart of the the Kashmir Valley. In appreciation of his work, the Government of the State bestowed on him a *Khilaat* (robe of honour). A couple



of years before his retirement from the service of the College, the Government sanctioned, at his instance, the opening of a special Linguistics Department, under his Directorship, at the College to turn out trained linguisticians. This was, however, an ill-fated department because, on his retirement, it came to a close.

As Honorary Chief Editor of the Urdu Encyclopaedia (Linguistic Section), which the Nizam's Government had undertaken to bring out, he contributed forty articles in Urdu to that project.

He has maintained a deep and sustained interest in Vedic philology ever since he studied the *Vaidika-prakriya* of the *Siddhanta-Kaumudī* in his early teens. His dissertation for the Doctorate drew upon the Vedic grammatico-phonetical manuals known as *Prātisākyas*. A large number of his other published papers, too, deal with one aspect or another of this subject. Indeed, it is his great interest in this line that accounts for his close and active connection with our Institute as its Honorary Academic Advisor. Starting early in 1930, this cultural intimacy reached its climax in his self-dedicatory letter, dated October 16, 1943, offering his services to the Institute from the 4th November 1943 when he retired from service. His association with the Institute in the succeeding years, from 1943 to 1947, was especially valuable for the auxiliary materials he supplied for the Institute's 16-volume *Vedic Word-Concordance* (1935-65), being a universal vocabulary register with complete textual references and critical commentary based on the entire Vedic literature available at the present day.

In 1947, in the wake of the Partition of India, when the Institute was uprooted from Lahore and was subjected to heavy losses, there was none heavier than the one caused by its own inability to offer to Dr. Varma a suitable place under its aegis. He was then prevailed upon by Dr. Raghuvera to go to Nagpur and collaborate with him in his lexicographical undertakings. He stayed there till 1951, when among other things, he prepared a Reverse *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* from the *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Monier-Williams.

The Government of India appointed him, on February 2, 1952, as Chief Editor, Hindi Terminologies, in the newly established Hindi Directorate at Delhi. Here, he had a good opportunity to bring into full play his wide knowledge of different languages as well as his versatility in respect of different sciences and many other branches of learning. A large number of well qualified scholars



were associated with him in his work as his assisting and collaborating staff, besides the expert advisors with whom he discussed important points at issue in the various Committees constituted for different subjects. In the words of the then Central Education Minister, Dr. K. L. Srimali, "Founder of Hindi Terminology in this country", as he was, the Government reluctantly accepted his resignation with effect from September 1, 1960, when he had to relinquish his office voluntarily owing to certain domestic circumstances, which, also, made it necessary for him to go to Chandigarh and live there with his daughter so that she could look after his comforts.

During his tenure at Delhi, besides attending to his official duties relating to Hindi Terminologies, he completed the most important portion of his *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, which, having been undertaken for publication by our Institute, has since been finally revised by him and is now being prepared for the press. He also utilised most enthusiastically the facilities available at Delhi for learning Tamil in which he has acquired considerable proficiency.

In the matter of continuance by him of his academic activities, his settling down at Chandigarh facilitated his resumption of active association with the work programmes of our Institute, which, as essential for this purpose, set up there its Sub-Office where necessary facilities were provided for his working. In the new set-up he could devote his entire working time, averaging 15 hours a day, to scholarly pursuits of his choice.

During these years besides the revision and rechecking of the two works mentioned above, viz., the *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India* and the *Glossaries of the N.-W. Himalayan Dialects*, he has been studying the *Prāṭisākhya* and *Śikṣā* literature towards the preparation of an annotated Index of *Ancient Indian Phonetico-Grammatical Terminology* and has, so far, dealt with over 2,000 terms. He has also prepared basic notes towards writing out four new chapters to his Doctoral Thesis, *Critical Studies in the Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, of which our Institute proposes to bring out a revised edition. Moreover he has been imparting regular training in phonetics to a number of scholars working on several dialects of the Panjabi, Pahāri and Hindi languages. His '*Readings in Linguistics*', being extracts and summary notes from about 60 works on the subject, old and new, are also intended to be of help in his said training programme.



A mention may also be made of some other useful work which he has taken up, including *Siddheśvara Śikṣā*, being a comparative study of the ancient Grammars of Sanskrit and Tamil, Subject Indexes to the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and of the *Caraka Saṃhita* and a historical and comparative Study of Words from the *Pañcatantra*.

Though his specialisation is linguistics, to him "it is wickedness to dissociate literature from linguistics", a faith which he demonstrates through the large number of books on all subjects which he studies and reviews. An objective approach and impartial conclusions characterise his reviews, which make them models of literary criticism.

As an impressive and successful teacher, Dr. Varma has evolved a philosophy of education of his own. He advocates intimate relationship between the teacher and the taught, effected, preferably, through personal discussions carried on individually or in a small group. A group of this type which he has at Chandigarh has been named *Sabda-Brahma Parishad*, which meets every fortnight for discussing different problems, cultural, linguistic, literary and philosophical. Where personal discussions are not practicable, he inculcates his ideas through correspondence marked by its vastness, variety and depth. Even his personal letters are always of a serious nature, never casual.

At eighty today, Dr. Varma continues to maintain that vigour of body and mind, which has always characterised him. Leading an extremely simple and disciplined life, ever devoted to intellectual pursuits and to the imbibing and imparting of knowledge, his is a life of ideal dedication to the service of *Śabda-Brahman* in which he finds self-satisfaction to the utmost. On the present occasion, too, the undersigned would fain repeat here the following prayer he made in dedicating, in 1950, the *Siddha-Bharatī* to him: "May this devotee and matchless hero of practical 'intellectuo-spiritualisation' witness, yet, many returns of his birthday so as to be an ever fresh fountain of inspiration and an ever bright beacon-light for an ever increasing number of his fellow travellers on the path that he has travelled so long and so successfully."

VISHVA BANDHU



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DR. SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

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## VEDIC TEXTUO-LINGUISTIC STUDIES

VISHVA BANDHU

4. *ATHARVAVEDA* I, 1

*Atharvaveda* of the Śaunakas begins with a hymn which, according to its *Br̥hat-sarvānukramanī* (I, 4), is *Vācaspatya*, being addressed to the tutelary God, Vācáspati (Lord of Speech).<sup>1</sup> It is ascribed to the poet Atharvan and consists of four verses of which the first reads as follows :

ये त्रिषप्ताः परियन्ति त्रिष्वारूपाणि त्रिभ्रतः ।  
वाचस्पतिर्ब्रूता तेषां तन्वो अद्य दधातु मे ॥

A short text-critical study of this verse has already been made in a preceding number of these *Studies*.<sup>2</sup> Here, it is proposed to study it again, primarily, from the exegetical point of view. This is to be an attempt, in the context of the hymn as a whole, to know, if possible, "who, filed<sup>3</sup> in threes or in sevens or in three-times sevens", might

1. For a second *Vācaspatya* hymn from *RV*, being the only one available and that, too, pantheographically misrecorded heretofore, see No. 3 of these *Studies*, 'Pantheographical re-examination of *RV* X, 166' (*VIJ* IV, ii, Sept. 1966, pp. 161-65).

2. See No. 2 of these *Studies* (*VIJ* II, i, Sept. 1964, pp. 1-8).

3. This rendering proceeds from a basic difference in the grammatical categorization of the compound *triṣaptāḥ*. Pāṇini (II, 2, 25) classed a numeral adjectival compound of this kind as a *Bahuvrīhi*, because, as a whole, it conveyed a sense which differed from that of each of its component numerals, and, under his dexterous technical craftsmanship, worked out its apparently ill-assorting non-*Bahuvrīhi* oxytone stem in *a* by adding to it the terminal suffix *-ḍac* (V, 4, 73) to replace the final syllable *-an* of the second component, *saptān-* by *a* and to shift the accent from the first component *tri-* to the final syllable of the compound. Linguistically, however, *\*tri-ṣapta-vṛt-* (Cf. *tri-vṛt-* *RV* I, 34, 9 etc.) > (nom. plu.) *\*ptavṛtaḥ* seems to have been reduced, phonetically (i.e. through *\*pt-vṛtaḥ* > *\*pt-āḥ* > *\*pt-āḥ*), to the form in question, namely, *triṣaptāḥ* which, accordingly, may better be described as a regular oxytone *Tatpuruṣa* than as an irregular oxytone *Bahuvrīhi* compound. On closer examination, numerous other so-called anomalies of form or accent or both should be amenable, on similar lines, to rationalization through their proper identification in the light of historically valid processes of phonetic change.



have been in the mind of the poet, when he indicated the same by his words *yé tri-ṣaptāḥ*.

Sāyaṇa thinks that the compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ* might have a reference to any one of the following five groups of Divine Elements (*devāḥ*): (a) the seven Directions, namely, Āroga-, Bhrāj-, Paṭara-, Pataṅga-, Svarṇasa-, Jyotiṣ-mat- and Vibhāsa-, leaving out the East (Prāci) proper (*Taittirīyāranyaka* I, 7, 1), the seven Priests (*ṛtvijāḥ*), namely, Hotṛ-, Maitrā-varuṇa-, Acchā-vāk-, Grāva-stut-, Brāhmaṇāc-chamsin-, Agnidhra- and Potṛ- and the seven Ādityāḥ, namely, Mitra-, Varuṇa-, Dhātṛ-, Aryaman-, Aṁśa-, Bhaga- and Indra-, leaving out Vivasvat-, being the eighth (*Ibid.* I, 13, 3 and *RV* IX, 114, 3) or (b) the seven Rivers (*Sindhavaḥ*), the seven Regions (*Lokaḥ*) and the seven Directions (*Diśaḥ*) as mentioned in *Taittirīya-Brahmaṇa* (II, 8, 3, 8), (c) the seven *Grahaḥ*, the seven *Rṣayaḥ* and the seven *Marudgaṇāḥ*, (d) the Twenty-one, namely, the twelve *Māsaḥ*, the five *Rtavaḥ*, the three *Lokaḥ* and the Sun being the twenty-first or (e) the Corporal Constituents, namely, the five *Mahābhūtāni*, the five *Prāṇāḥ*, the five *Jñānendriyāṇi*, the five *Karmendriyāṇi* and the *Antaḥ-karaṇa-*.

Of the modern Indian translators, Kṣemakaraṇ Dās, Jay Dev and Sātavalekar have more or less taken their cue from Sāyaṇa and, with a little bit of tinkering here and there, have practically said ditto to him. Rājā Rām, on the other hand, has sided with the Westerners, particularly, with Whitney in understanding, after Roth, the numeral compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ* as "the designation of an indefinite number" being an allusion to the "sounds and syllables" (*varṇāḥ*) of which the Vedic learning (*śrutā-*) that the invoker (*ṛṣi*) had acquired was made up. According to Roth, as reported by Whitney, the word *śrutā-* meant, 'sense of hearing' and the term *triṣaptāḥ* indicated the 'hearers' in their 'threes and sevens' (i.e., dozens and scores). Griffith, however, has surmised that the term might have been employed in reference to the Maruts who, even though elsewhere "said to form nine troops of seven each (Cf. *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa* II, 1, 7, 9), are called the triple-seven, *tri-ṣaptāsaḥ*" in *AV* XIII, 1, 3. He has also reported the view of Weber that the second component of the term in question is not the numeral *saptān-* 'seven' but *saptā-* being derived from  $\sqrt{\text{sap}}$  'combine' and that, accordingly, the compound *tri-ṣaptāḥ* 'triply combined' might refer to the Gods of the three spheres, namely, the heaven, the firmament and the earth.

In *RV* X, 166, the *ṛṣi* Rṣabha invokes Vācāspāti to make (*kṛdhi*) him exceller (*ṛṣabhā*) of (his) equals (*samāndānām*), defier (*viśasaḥīm*)



of (his) rivals (*sapátnānam*) and killer (*hantāram*) of (his) adversaries (*śátrūnam*) so that, when thus worsted and subdued, they may as well become pinned down below his feet from where, when they speak, their voice must always remain lower than his own (v. 3 d : *yáthā mād ádharam vādan*), their endeavour, when speaking as if from below his foot, after the manner of frogs croaking from the low-lying surface of water, to raise their voice higher than his being of no avail to them (v. 5 cd: *adhaspadān ma údvadata, maṇḍūkā ivodakāt*). Indeed, through Vācáspáti's grace, he wants to become (cf. v. 1 d) a brilliant (*viráj-*) Master of \*Speech, of every phase of It, (*gávām gópatim*)<sup>4</sup> so that, thus equipped, he might be able (cf. v. 4) easily

4. For this rendering of *gó-*, cf. *Nigh.* I, 11; *Nir.* V, 11. Also, cf. *RV* II, 23, 1, (*gaṇṇānām... gaṇḍpatim*); I, 101, 4 (*gávām gópatiḥ*), VII, 98, 6 (*gávām... gópatiḥ*), X, 47, 1 (*gópatim... gónām*); I, 9, 9 (*vásor... vāsūpatim*), III, 30, 19; X, 47, 1 (*vasupate vāsūnām*), III, 36, 9; V, 4, 1 (*vāsūpatim vāsūnām*), IV, 17, 6; VI, 25, 5 (*vāsūpatir vāsūnām*) for some more examples of the peculiar idiom in which, as here, in order to convey someone's all-comprehending mastery over the entire class or kind of an object the compound with the object-denoting word as its first member and the word *páti-* as its second member is employed alongwith the gen. plu. form of the former word. Thus, here, the term *gávām gópatiḥ* means "the master of all the members of speech-kind, (*go-jāti-*), that is to say, over all the member-speeches (*gávām*, i.e., the first member of the compound *gópatiḥ*) making up the speech-kind (*gávām*, cf. *Pāṇini* I, 2, 58 for the alternative use of the plural number for conveying the sense of *jāti* 'kind', i.e., *gávām madhye yāḥ api gāvāḥ=sarvāḥ api, tāsām patiḥ* (cf. *Sā.*, *na kevalam ekasyā eva goḥ patim, api tu sarvāsām*)". Also, cf. *vasoḥ* in *RV* I, 9, 9 for the alternative use of the singular number for similarly conveying the sense of *jāti* 'kind' (cf. *RV* IX, 113, 11 c : *kāmasya yátrāptāḥ kāmāḥ* where, similarly, the sing. *kāmasya* means 'totality (*sāmānya-*) of desire' and the plu. *kāmānām* 'all individual desires'). Towards its etymology, the homonymic base, *gó-* 'speech' may have to be interrelated with *√ku*, *√gu*, *√ghu* and *√ghuṣ*, all in the sense of *śabda-* 'sound' (cf. *Pā.-Dhā.* I, 654; 976-78; X, 193). Here, the hymn having been addressed to the God Vācáspáti, the homonymic base, *gó-* should be taken in the sense of 'speech', as indicated above and not in that of 'cow' as done by others (cf. *Sā.*, *Gri.* etc.). That the poet was yearning for becoming a 'formidable speaker' and not a 'rich cow-owner', is indirectly indicated by his malevolent prayer to the Lord of Speech to make his rivals' power to speak lesser than the poet's own (v. 3 d). Indeed, he seemed to have felt that this prayer of his had been granted, for he made bold to proclaim that, compared to his own powerful utterance, his rivals, lying far below, could achieve nothing better than merely croak like frogs (v. 5 c-d.).

Where, on the other hand, the base *gó-* is used in other senses like 'earth', 'cow', 'ray' etc. (cf. *Nir.* II, 5-7), it may have to be similarly derived, in each case of fundamentally distinct meaning, from other corresponding radicals, phonetically as well as semantically compatible (cf. *Nir.* II, 7, *nānakarmāṇi cen nānānirvacanāni*).



to overpower (*abhi-bhūh*) his rival (\*reciters),<sup>5</sup> perplexing their mind (*cittām*), silencing their \*speech (*vrātām*)<sup>6</sup> and storming their \*conference (*sāmitim*)<sup>7</sup> Thus, it is clear that superiority in the art of

5. Cf. *RV* X, 71, 10 where one who comes out with laurels from a recitation or declamation contest is eulogized in high terms including that of *sabhā-sāha* 'assembly conquerer'.

6. Cf. *RV* VII, 103, 1 which introduces the sudden appearance of frogs, who at the end of their year-long slumber, have started jubilantly uttering forth (*prā...avādisuh*) their rain-enlivened notes (*parjānya-jinvitām vācam*), metaphorically, as the Brāhmaṇas reciting the Holy Word (*vratacārīṇaḥ*). For *√car* 'read', cf. *caraṇa-* 'a community of Vedic reciters of the same *śakhā*' (Cf. *Pā.* II, 4, 3 etc.), *cāraṇa-* 'reciter, singer', *uccāraṇa-* 'pronunciation', *√carc* 'read' (*Pā.-Dhā.* X, 179). This *√car* is cognate with *√kr* 'mention, praise' (cf. *MW. Dict.* p. 304; *VB, Vedic Word-Concordance*, *Samhitā Sn.*, p. 1131, fn.g), *kāra-* (treated as a suffix by *Kāt.* under *Pā.* III, 3, 108). *Kātyāyana* in his *Vārttika*, too, *Pā.* VI, 3, 86, explained the word *brahmacārin*, being the second component of the compound *sa-brahmacārin*, by inserting the word *vrata* between *brahma(n)-* and *cārin*. Thereby, he understood the word *brahmacārin* as "one who observed (*√car*) the discipline (*vrata-*) pertaining to (the study of) *Veda* (*brahman*)". *Patañjali* has accepted the explanation which has since been generally followed. In the light of what has been observed above regarding *√car*, 'read', it should, however, be now practicable to dispense with the inserted component *vrata* in the word *brahmacārin* which could directly be rendered as 'a learner, i.e., student (*cārin*) of *Veda* (*brahman*)'. *Vrata-* in the sense of 'word', as used in the aforesaid compound *vratacārīṇaḥ* "reciting the (Holy) Word", (cf. *Yāska* who in *Nir.* IX, 6 makes an important suggestion, which seems to have received scant attention so far, namely, that the frogs, being *vratacārīṇas*, have been called 'Brāhmaṇas' in as much as they uttered sounds (*bravaṇāi*), cf. *Kumārila* in *Tantravārttika* I, 3, 18; *L. Sarup* incorrectly read here *abruvāṇāḥ*; also, cf. *V. M. Apte: All About Vratā in the R̥gveda*, Section 149 for just a hint in this direction, which, however, failed to recognise that the word *vrata* here directly connoted 'recitation') is derived from *√\*vradh=vr̥dh* 'speak' (*Pā.-Dhā.* X, 250). For the phonetic variation, namely, *r: ra* in *vr̥dh: vradh*, cf. *tr̥p: trapr-* (*Pā.* VI 1, 59), *√dṛs: dr̥dṣ-* (*Pā.* VI, 15, 8) *√bhṛj: √bhraḥj*, *√mr̥j: √mrakṣ*, *√sr̥j: sr̥āj-* (*Pā.* III, 2, 59), *sraṣ-* (*Pā.* VI, 1, 58) etc. See next fn. also.

7. Cf. *RV* IX, 92, 6; X, 97, 6; 191, 3; *AV* VIII, 10 (1), 10-11; XII, 1, 56 etc. where the word *sāmiti-* is employed, evidently, in the sense of 'conference', being synonymically related to *sabhā*, to which the Vedic people were quite accustomed to resort to discuss and debate all sorts of subjects, spiritual as well as temporal. The art of public speaking seems to have been quite popular with the men of letters of that ancient age. Indeed, parents used to cherish a great desire that the child being born to them should be "an effective speaker, capable of carrying the people with him" (Cf. *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* XIV, 9, 8, 17=*Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* VI, 4.18: *sāmitiṁ-gamaḥ śuśrūṣitām vācam bhūṣitā*).



speaking in general and of reciting the Holy Texts in particular was the ultimate objective to achieve which the ṛṣi Ṛṣabha of ṚV X, 166 invoked the God Vācāspāti.

Likewise, it is seen that elsewhere in the scattered Vācāspāti stanzas, also, the motivation of prayer is identical. For instance, in ṽS IX, 1; XI, 7; XXX, 1; ṽSK X, 1; XII, 7; XXXIV, 1; TS IV, 1, 1, 3, etc.,<sup>8</sup> the God Vācāspāti is invoked so that He be

The choicest blessings for which the Gods would be invoked included that of a son who should be 'great in council as in war' (YV XXII, 22 : *jiṣṇū ratheṣṭhāḥ sabhēyo yūvāśya yājamānasya vīrō jāyatām*). ṚV X, 191, 3 using the word *māntra* 'formula' or 'invocation' (<√man '\*say'=Pā.-Dhā. I, 449 √man) along with the words *sāmiti*- and *cittā*- which ṚV X, 165, 4, also, reads, may be taken as a further support for our view that the word *vratā*- in the latter should be rendered as the 'Holy word' and that as such be equated with the word *māntra* of the former.

8. The terms Gandharvá and Vācāspāti read in the *Pādas c* and *d*, respectively, of this oft-repeated liturgical stanza of the Yajurvedins, stand for separate divinities other than Savitár who is also read here. This is so even though the God Savitár appropriates the first one-half of the said stanza which itself heads (cf. YV XXX, 1) or falls within (cf. YV. XI, 7) a context comprising a series of verses dedicated to the God Savitár. This seems to have been recognised by ŚBr. (V, 1, 1, 16; VI, 3, 1, 19) which accords to Savitár and Gandharvá mutually independent identification of each of them with the Sun (*asaṁ Ādityāḥ*) and identifies Vācāspāti, separately, with Prajāpāti as well as Prāṇā.

Gandharva, conceived as a distinct solar deific entity, apart from Savitár, is also indicated by ṚV 1, 22, 14; 163, 2-4; IX, 83, 4; 85, 12; X, 85, 40; 41; 123, 7 (cf. the adj. *urdhvāḥ*); 139, 5 (cf. the adj. *divyāḥ*).

It is somewhat confusing that both Uvaṇa and Mahīdhara who, in their comments on YV IX, 1, had thought it necessary to treat Savitár, Gandharvá and Vācāspāti as three distinct godheads, should in their comments on YV XI, 7 take the latter two as mere epithets of Savitár. The confusion, probably, arose as a result of the upper hand which liturgy had come to have over the exegesis. Thus, ŚBr. (V, 1, 2, 14) referred to the practice, already in vogue, of offering an oblation to the God Savitár alone to the accompaniment of this stanza. This exclusive *vinīyoga* was confirmed by *Kalpa* (cf. *Kā.-Śr.* XIV, 1, 11) and the dedication, so to say, of the whole stanza to Savitár recorded by the pantheographer concerned, being Kātyāyana in his *Śukla-Yajuh-Sarvāṇukrama-Sūtra* (I, 553), practically, demoting Gandharvá and Vācāspāti to the position of auxiliary (*naighaṇṭuka*) godheads.



pleased to grant sweetness (*svadatu*)<sup>9</sup> to the invokers' speech (*vācalja*)[*m*].<sup>10</sup>

9. The vb. *svadatu* stands for the causative form *svadayatu* 'may make sweet and palatable' (cf. for similar idea, *RV* VIII, 49, 5; IX, 105, 1; X, 110, 2 etc. in general and *TS* IV, 1, 10, 1 etc. for the texts like "*Dēvi Vāk, yād Vācō mādhumat tdsmin mā dhāh*"). This is indicated, clearly, by the context itself. Thus, the God Savitār is invoked in *a* and *b* so that he may let (*pravsū*) the devotional rite (*yajñd.*) be properly performed and the sacrificer (*yajñd-pati*) to attain to prosperity (*bhāga*). The priests who voice forth this prayer on behalf of the sacrificer, are keen that their prayer should be palatable enough to be acceptable to Savitār who, then alone, would be pleased to grant prosperity (*bhāga*) to their Principal-at-Sacrifice (*Yājamāna*). Therefore, it is but proper that as a necessary self-preparatory measure towards this end, they have also switched on their mind towards the God Vācāspāti who alone can make their speech what they want it to be.

10. *Vājā* is read at *VS* IX, 1 and *VS* X, 1 in the above-mentioned liturgical stanza (cf. fn. 8 *supra*) in place of *vācam* which is read in the same stanza at *VS* XI, 7; XXX, 1 and *VS* XII, 7; XXXIV, 1. Contextual placement of the stanza in question being identical at all the places of its occurrence in the various texts of the Yajurvedins, the variation *c : j* as involved might appear to have developed either as *c > j* or as *j > c*, indicating that one of the two words, namely, either *vācam* or *vājā* was read when this stanza was originally composed. The second word, whichever it was, might thus have started being read, at one or more of the places of occurrence of the stanza, as the case might be, subsequently, as a result of corruption of either *c > j* or of *j < c*. But as both of these phenomena seem to lack in phonetico-historical support, it is improbable that either of them could have been responsible for the textual variation under discussion. Proto-linguistically, however, it is probable that the palatal media *j* in *vājā* had developed from the earlier palatal media aspirate *jh* (cf. *Pā.* VIII, 4, 56) which, in its turn, was traceable to *dhy* in \**vbhrdh* > *vr̥dh* 'speak' [= *Pā.-Dhā.* X, 250] > \**vr̥dh-* 'word' > \**vr̥dhmaya-* [cf. *mṛnmaya-* etc. under *Pā.-Dhā.* IV, 3, 144] > \**vr̥dhmya-* [Cf. *vākmya-*, *śākmya-* etc.] > *vr̥dhya-* (cf. *Pā.* IV, 4, 138), being, through \**vāj̥jha-* > *vāj̥ha*, the progenitor of *vāja-* which having been read as a variant of *vāc-* 'speech' as the medium of prayer to be got made palatable through the grace of the Lord Speech of (Vācāspāti), should unmistakeably mean 'speech' in the present context (cf. *RV* I, 3, 10 [= *V1*, 61, 4]; 12; VII, 96, 3; X, 71, 5; 10; *AV* XIV, 2, 70 [= *TS* III, 5, 6, 1 [Cf. *Mā.-Śr.-Sūtra* II, 1, 2, 7 for the variant *vāc.-*]] being just a few of the other very much Vedic contexts which, contextually, vouch for the use of *vāja-* in the sense of 'speech'). That *ŚBr.* (V, 1, 1, 16 on *VS* IX, 1) took *vāja-*, in the sense of *ānna-* 'food' (Eggeling, 'meat'?) and *Yā.* (in *Nir.* I. 20 on *RV* X, 71, 5) simply, vented out his confused uncertainty by rendering *vājā*, in the same breath, both as *vāc-* 'speech' as well as *bala-* 'strength' might be taken as an indication of *vāja-* in the sense of 'speech' having gone out of vogue and gradually become forgotten. Anyway, as evident from *Yā.* (*ibid.*),



As indicated above, the hymn (AV I, 1) under present study is very expressly and clearly addressed to the Lord of Speech (Vācáspati) and has been thus recorded by the ancient pantheographer concerned. Therefore, it was very much expected that as elsewhere where that God was invoked,<sup>11</sup> whether, primarily, as in RV X, 166 or, secondarily, as in VS IX, 1 etc., here, too, the invocation would aim at gaining, through His grace, the utmost and vastest possible power of speech. Naturally, then, the ṛṣi Atharvan in saying that the Lord of Speech (Vācáspati) be pleased to "place (*dadhātu*) in my (*i.e.*, the poet's) self (*tanvām*)<sup>12</sup> the powers (*bāla*) of (those) who number three-times sevens (*triṣaptāḥ*)" should have in his mind only some familiarly known elements or constituents of speech and no other objects.

We may indeed admire Sayana for the very wide reach of his imagination in conjuring up the aforesaid rich variety of triplets and septets, of popular and classical repute (*loka-veda-prasiddhaḥ*), to answer to the queried Vedic term 'thrice-seven' (*triṣaptāḥ*) and Griffith for suggesting that this might stand for the 'thrice-thrice-seven Maruts' and also, Weber for reading here an allusion to the entire pantheon, peopling the three regions and, for that purpose,

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linguisticians of that age did have a dim memory of the ancient tradition of this meaning. This tradition seems to have since persisted in kindred quarters as it is found recorded, as late as the 14th-15th century A.D., in the *Medinī-kośa* (*cf.* *Vācaspatya* and MW. *sub. voce*). It was due to the gradual loss of the said tradition that Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, while discussing the word *vājina-* of RV X, 71, 5, being an example, newly, added by him, in the course of his *Siddhānta Kaumudī* (Vedic Section) on Pā. I, 4, 20, analysed it, obviously, as *vāc-+ina-*. Jayakṛṣṇa's comment on it further spoiled the case by taking the compound as *Ṣaṣṭhī-Tatpuruṣa* without minding its being initially accented and not being an oxytone as expected, (*cf.* Pā. VI, 1, 223) and, also, by regarding it as a masculine base without taking any notice of its actual occurrences as a neuter-action-noun, e.g. further on at v. 10 of the same hymn itself.

The aforesaid postulate (*\*bhṛdh>vr̥dhmaya-* as the proto-linguistic base of *vāja-* 'speech' is similarly indicated by its other lineal descendants like (*id.>\*dhmāya->hvāya->OIA v̥hve* 'call' (=Pā.-Dhā, I, 1033); (*id.>\*vāja->\*vāy->OIA vāyasā-* 'crow' (RV-Khila I, 2, 11 etc.); Tamil *vāy-* 'word', 'speech'; Pāṇj. *vāj-* 'shout' (also, *avāj-* 'id.' <[*v̥hve>ā-hvāya-*, possibly, with contamination from]) Pers. (*āvāzīdan* 'cry') *āwāz-* 'shout'; *āwāzah* 'id.'; *wāzi(i)āj-* (*id.*); Av. *wāzhaḥ-* 'id'; Pers. *v̥wazhīdan* 'tell'.

11. Cf. fn. 1 *supra*.

12. Cf. No. 2, of these *Studies*, 'AV I, 1, 1' (VIJ II, 1, March 1964, pp. 1-8).



taking *saptā-* as past passive participle of *√sap* 'combine'. But, in view of the position set out above, it would be neither here nor there to accept any one of these so many surmises. If we took our cue from Sāyaṇa, Weber or Griffith, it would indeed be an unheard of practice and, therefore, utterly off the mark to pray to one particular God and expect to have from Him, in return, powers that pertained to some other Gods and did not belong to Him. Even where the other Gods are said to partake of the worship that is offered to the Lord of speech (*Bṛhāspāti*, being identical in this context with *Vācāspāti*).<sup>13</sup> He is said to bestow upon His worshippers all (types of) words (*brāhmaṇ-*).<sup>14</sup> to enable them to pray to the other Gods also, to receive Their gifts, directly, from Them.

Liturgy (*Kalpa-*) prescribes<sup>15</sup> this hymn for being recited when a neo-initiate (*brahmacārin*), keen on becoming sharp-witted (*medhā-kāma-*), offers clarified butter to Fire (*ājyahoma-*). Similarly, it prescribes<sup>16</sup> a recitation of this hymn by the students (*mānavaka-s*) when they re-assemble after vacation to take up their study, afresh (*upākarmaṇ*). As the hymn in question is addressed to the Lord of Speech (*Vācāspāti*) who, alone, could grant the gift, as sought under these liturgical prescriptions, the latter would become appropriately self-fulfilled only when the term *triṣaptāḥ* alluded, rather, to particular elements of speech itself than to any other extraneous objects, divine or otherwise.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, the repetition, in each of the remaining three verses (2-4) of this hymn, of the prayer for the gift of firm retention<sup>18</sup> of 'learning' (*śruta-*) may be said to be a sure pointer to the direction in which the correct interpretation of the term *triṣaptāḥ-* in the first verse should lie. Roth's rendering of *śrutā-* by the 'sense of hearing' was repugnant to the context and, therefore, irrelevant, because *Vācāspāti* could be prayed for the gift of stable possession of ever-effective scholarship (*vac-*) and not

13. Cf. *RV* II, 23, 2 a, b.

14. Cf. *Ibid.*, c, d.

15. Cf. *Kauśika-Sūtra* LVII, 31.

16. Cf. *ibid.*, CXXXIX, 10.

17. Cf. *Ait.-Br.* I, 4: *Etad vai yajñasya samṛddham, yad rūpa-samṛddham, yat karma kriyamāṇam ṛg abhivadati.*

18. Note the employment, for this purpose, of the appropriate verbs *√dā* 'deposit' in v. 1, *ni √ram* 'station' in v. 2, *vi √tan* '\*bind' and *ni √yam* 'id' both, in v. 3 and *sam √gam* 'unite' in v. 4.



that of mere 'hearing' which was presupposed to have been already present when a person had his education.

That the Śaunakas read this hymn in the beginning of their *AV-Saṃhitā* in preference to the famous *Śanno devīh* hymn (*AV* 1, 6), which had formed the beginning of the *AV-Saṃhitā* of the Paippalādas, seems to have been done with the set purpose of starting with an appropriate invocation of the Lord of Speech (*Vācāspāti*) because He presided over everything that pertained to learning and its advancement and as such, if properly glorified and propitiated, would reciprocally grant to the invokers His best possible gift, namely, the all-powerful speech itself to ensure their complete success reciting and understanding their Vedic text. This too, might indicate that the verse in question was understood, even in that remote past, as a prayer for the grant of all powers of expression which speech could be capable of. The initial placement of this invocation of the Lord of speech (*Vācāspāti*) might have been the Vedic precursor of the latter practice which is being followed to this day, of commencing a new composition in literature with an invocation of *Gaṇapāti* being, in this context, identical with the Lord of Speech (*Vācāspāti*),<sup>19</sup> both the words, namely, *Gaṇā-* and *Vāc-* standing for 'word' as well as its 'sense', and, thus, connoting 'scholarship' and 'knowledge' in general.

Both Roth and Whitney felt, to some extent, that, as indicated above, firm retention of 'learning' (*śrutā-*), here, of course, Vedic, being the foremost objective before the poet, the significance of the term, 'three-times seven' (*triṣaptāḥ*) must be intimately related to that of the word *śrutā-*. But neither of them seemed to be sure of the exact meaning of the word *śrutā-* here. Roth, as pointed out above, thought that, as in *AV* VI, 41, 1, here too, this word meant

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19. Cf. *Nigh.* I. 11 where *gaṇā* is mentioned as a synonym of 'speech' (*vāc-*); *RV* II, 23. 1 where the God *Bṛhaspāti*, who represents, along with other divine aspects, the one of 'lordship of speech' which it, evidently, shares with *Vācāspāti*, is praised as the 'lord of all speech' (*gaṇānām gaṇāpati* [cf. fn. 4 supra]); *X*, 112, 9 where, after having been praised in the preceding verse as the source of inspiration urging the worshipper's speech (*gō-*) to sing songs (*brdhman-*) in His praise, the God *Indra*, is addressed as the 'lord of all speech' (*gaṇapate*), being the most distinguished among the poets (*vīpratamaṃ kvīnām*) and is therefore besought to take up His seat (*nī-ṣīda*) among the singers (*gaṇēṣu*) and lead them in singing (*arca*) that \*sweet (*mahām*) and lovely (*citrām*) song (*arkām*), of course, which He may relish the most.



'sense of hearing'. Therefore, according to him, the poet very much desired that he might continue to be a good 'hearer', evidently, of Vedic hymns (*śrutā-*) in the present context, and, accordingly, prayed to the 'Lord of Speech' (*Vācāspāti*) to make him as powerful a 'hearer' as the healthiest among the 'hearers', old and young (among all living beings), who (*yé*), possessed of (*bibhrataḥ*) all (*viśvā*) forms (*rupāṇi*), were moving on all sides (*pariyānti*), of him. Whitney, even though he did not adopt this interpretation, would at the same time not totally rule it out. Obviously, then, both these savants were not conscious of the incongruity that, from the point of view of Vedic pantheology, lay in this particular exegetical approach of theirs, namely, that the God *Vācāspāti* presided over the 'faculty of speech' (*vāc-*) and not over the 'sense of hearing' (*śrutā-* as they would understand this word). Therefore, as the 'Lord of Speech', (*Vācāspāti*), He could be rightly expected to bestow on His worshippers such gift only as was identical with or akin to *Vāc-* of which he was the supreme master and gracious dispenser. Moreover, it would look extremely funny indeed to pose the worshipper as praying to the said God to assign (*dadhātu*) to the former (*me*) the powers (*bāla*) accordingly, of hearing that belonged to the 'three-times-seven' (*triṣaptāḥ*), viz., all other 'hearers' in general and, thus, indirectly, to inflict the severest punishment on the latter without their having provoked Him in any way. Whitney, however, contrived to fare better of the two by "supposing *śrutā-* ('what is heard') to signify one's acquired sacred knowledge, portion of *śruti-*," thus, practically, tending to equate *śrutā-* with *Vedādhyaṇa-* and, quite matchingly with this proposal of his, surmising that the term *triṣaptāḥ* "perhaps refers to the sounds or syllables of which this (*śrutā-*) is made up."

Sāyaṇa at the end of his *bhāṣya* on *AV* I, 1, 2, had clearly stated that "the word *śrutā-* meant '*Veda* and *Śāstra*' which had been acquired by regular study under a teacher"<sup>20</sup> and Griffith, from among the modern Vedists, had practically adopted the same by rendering the said word, read in *AV* I, 1, 2-4, first, by 'Knowledge' and, then, as more correct, by 'Sacred Lore'. But, still, Whitney, notwithstanding his own aforesaid quite happy surmise in the same direction, remained faltering on the point, apparently, as if duty-bound under the magic spell of his teacher, Roth's pronounced anti-Sāyaṇa attitude which unduly revelled in belittling the value

20. "Śrutam upādhyāyād vidhito 'dhītam vedasūstrādikam."



of Indian contribution to Vedic exegesis,<sup>21</sup> and contented himself with rendering, in AV I, 1, 2-4 and, likewise, in VII, 63, 1 and 2, the word *śrutā-*, simply, by 'what is heard' or 'things heard'. Anyway, if he had cared to take his cue from, or, at least, to consult, on the point at issue, the Vedic authors themselves, his rendering of this word might then have entered the precincts of realistic significance, and, consequently, he himself would have been saved from the self-mockery to which, otherwise, he had laid himself bare. In that case, it would also have become evident to him how Sāyaṇa's aforesaid interpretation of this word could alone hold water, being thoroughly consistent with the entire array of documentary testimony, right from the Vedas themselves downwards.<sup>22</sup>

21. Cf., Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, Erster Teil, (1842-1855), Vorwort (p. V): "Wir glauben, dass ein gewissenhafter europäischer Erklärer den Veda weit richtiger und besser verstehen könne also Sāyaṇa; wir halten es nicht für die nächste Aufgabe, dasjenige verständniss des Veda zu erreichen, welches vor etlichen Jahrhunderten in Indien gangbar war, sondern suchen den Sinn, welchen die Dichter selbst in ihre Lieder und Sprüche gelegt haben." (Cf., also, Vishva Bandhu, *A Complete Etymological Dictionary of the Vedic Language* (as recorded in the *Samhitās*), First Fasciculus, 1929, Introduction, p. XI). What a refreshing contrast one finds in Kālidāsa, who beautifully combined self-confidence with humility in making his debut with his following gnomic utterance:

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वं न चाऽपि कान्यं नवमित्यवद्यम् ।

सन्तः परीक्ष्याऽन्यतरद् भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥

22. Cf., *Sāṅkh. Gr. Sū.* I, 2, 5 which defines *Śrutā-* as under :

अधिदैवम् अथाऽध्यात्मम् अधियज्ञम् इति त्रयम् ।

मन्त्रेषु ब्राह्मणे चैव श्रुतमित्यभिधीयते ।

Obviously, the deep study, which an individual made of the entire body of the Vedic Texts, including the *Samhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads*, which, among themselves, comprised the *Mantras* and the *Brāhmaṇas* and treated of the three topics, namely, the worship of the divinities, the knowledge and realisation of the Self and the performance of rituals and were collectively known as *Śrūti-* (cf. *ibid.* II, 7, 15), was designated as that particular individual's *Śrutā-* which, therefore, was the same thing as was known, later on, as *Vedādhyaṇa-*. It is mentioned (cf. *ibid.* I, 2, 1-3) as the foremost qualification which must entitle its possessor to being invited to partake of the Sacred Feast (*Brāhmaṇa-bhojana-*), particularly (cf. *ibid.* I, 2, 6), if he had grown grey in deepening his scholarship (*śruta-vṛddha-* [Oldenberg: 'Geziert' is improper], and was still pursuing it (*adhīyāna-*).



*Pār. Gr. Sū.* III, 15, 23, likewise, speaks of *śruta-* as the Vedic course, which is 'read' and ends with the prayer that the same might be retained, firmly, in the mind (*yan me śrutam adhītam tan me manasi tiṣṭhatu*). This is preceded by the prescription that the objective of not letting slip away what one has read should be achieved by reciting the texts, regularly, day after day (*adhītyā dhītyā nirākaraṇam*). The *sūtra*, also, describes one's *śruta-* as 'recitation of Veda', 'fixation (in memory) of Veda' and 'treasure of Veda' (*brahmaṇaḥ pravacanam asi brahmaṇaḥ pratiṣṭhānam asi brahmakośo'si*, i.e., *brahma-rūpa-kośaḥ* being a *Karmadhāraya* compound with the middle member dropped, cf., *Pā.- Vār.* II, 1, 60, and refers to one's mind as 'the Vedic treasure-house', *brahmakośa*, i.e., *brahmaṇaḥ kośaḥ*, being a genitive *Tatpuruṣa* compound. After the 'Vedic treasure' (*brahmakośa-*) has entered the Vedic treasury (*brahmakośa*) in the form of the mind, (cf., the use of *ā vviś* 'enter'), the same is to be guarded, by its repeated recitation, against going off (*vācā tvā'pidadhāmi*), this alone, being able to make the *śruta-* get fully contained and firmly retained there (*tiṣṭha prati(ti\*)ṣṭha*).

*Tai.-Up.* I, 4, 1 ushers in a Vedic teacher who himself has ever been intent on keeping intact in his memory the recar of the Vedic hymns (*chhandobhyaḥ... amṛtāt ... amṛtasya ... dhūraṇo bhūyāsam*), addresses his student, also, as a 'container (*kośaḥ*) of Veda (*brahmaṇaḥ*) which is kept safe within him (*apihitāḥ*) by his active memory (*medhayā*)' and urges him to preserve well (*gopāya*), for posterity, 'my (gift unto thee of) Vedic reading (*me śrutam*)'.

*Br.-Up.* I, 4, 15 uses the word *veda-* itself for *śruta-* and makes it the object of *anu vvac* 'recite, regularly' (cf., *ibid.*, IV, 4, 22, *tam etam vedā nuvacanena brāhmaṇā vividishaṇte yajñiṇa dānena tapasū'nāśakena* and *Ch.-Up.* II, 23, 1: *trayo dharmaskandhāḥ. yajño'dhyayanam dānam iti prathamāḥ*), where the word *adhyayana-* corresponds to and stands for *vedūdhyayana*.

The *Kāṇḍa* XIX of *AV* ends with two one-verse (*ekarca-*) hymns (71 ; 72) which read like having once been the colophon to that entire text itself. The first of these hymns speaks of the 'rcas of Veda' (*veda-mūtāḥ\** [2nd member being [*\*mā[tā>]tā* <*vmū* 'speak', cf., *māyū-* 'sound']) as 'having been recited' (*stutāḥ\**) and, as if to say 'au revoir' (*gamyatām punar darśanāya*) to them, bids them 'repair' (*vrajata*) to 'where Veda is used to get enoused' (*brahmalokā-*). The second hymn describes this *brahmalokā-* as the 'care' (*kośa-*) from which the Veda had been taken out, apparently, for the recitation and in which, now that the recitation was over, it was being placed back (*dva-dadmaḥ*) for safety. Evidently, both the words *brahmalokā* and *kośa-* of the present context, like the word *brahmakośa-* in *brahmakośam āviśa* of the *Pār. Gr. Sū.*, as cited above, connoted the 'mind' (*manas-*), being the 'seat of memory' (cf., "*manasi tiṣṭhatu*" in the same citation) and the afore-cited word *veda-mūtāḥ\**, as corrected, connoted, like the word *śrutāni* of *AV* VI, 63, 2, the Vedic texts (*svūdhyāyā-*) which became the object of daily recitation (*vedapāṭha-*).

It seems that it was in consonance with the above traditional ideology that *AV* I, 1, 2 made its *ṛṣi* pray to the Lord of Speech (*Vācāspati*) to come (*ēhi*) again and again (*pūnar*), every time bringing from him the ever-covetable



Sufficient attention does not seem to have been paid so far towards properly gauging the hoary antiquity of linguistic speculation and study in Vedic India. Vasiṣṭha has referred to the wide prevalence of Vedic seminaries, and, he must have been running one of his own, too, where Vedic recitation was regularly taught, the teacher (*śaktā*) leading and his young student (*śikṣamāṇa*) following in the rote.<sup>23</sup> Ambhṛṇa's daughter was a great devotee of the Deity Vāk (Speech) so much so that she herself came to be known as Vāk, being a designation which she might have adopted as a pen-name. In her glorious hymn in praise of that Deity, she has sung, in exuberantly mystic strains, of Her as the prime principle, omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient, underlying and sustaining the entire phenomenal world of action and expression, pertaining to the Gods, human beings and all other creatures.<sup>24</sup> As indicated by her having applied various epithets, namely, *uṅrā-* (orator), *brahmān-* (priest), *ṛṣi-* (poet) and *sumedhā* (singer) to those who devoted themselves to and won favours at the hands of the Deity Vāk, this exalted apotheosis of speech (*vāc-*) as the Goddess of Learning being, practically, identical with

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gift of the mind (*mānas-*) that should be bright and alive (*devā-*) and not dull, because that alone could be the properly retentive receptacle of the read and mastered Vedic lore (*śrutā-*). It also seems that the *ṛṣi* had employed the word 'self' (*tanū-*) in AV I, 1, 1 as a synonym of this *mānas-* itself.

*Kaṭha-Up.* II, 23 distinguishes, from the point of view of one who seeks self-realisation, between 'what one has been taught from the Vedic lore' (*pravacana-*), in the first instance, from 'what of it one retains in memory' (*medhā-*) and 'recites' (*śrutā-*), as and when prescribed, after the manner the teacher had taught it. When, after the teacher had employed his tongue (*pravacana-*) and the pupil his ear (*śravaṇa-*), the latter came to employ his tongue to repeat, exactly, what the former had uttered (cf., *Ibid.*, I, 15 : *sa cā'pi tat pratyavadad yathoktam*, also, *ṚV* VIII, 103, 5 : *vācam śuktāḥ syeva vadati śikṣamāṇaḥ*) till he had learnt the same by heart and could afterwards repeat it at will, what had been thus learnt was known, in the parlance of the Vedic scholars, as *śrutā*. He alone was regarded as a proficient teacher (*ācārya*) who, having thus acquired learning (*śrutā-*), had mastered it so well that it was always present in his memory and he could deliver it, with great ease, to his devoted disciples (cf., *Kaṭha-Upa.* I, 13 where Yama is praised as a teacher of this type in that he still well remembered [*adhyesi* < *adhi* 'to remember'] the subject of study, being a Section of the Vedic lore, which was in view there).

23. *ṚV* VII, 103, 5.

24. *Ibid.*, X, 125.



or, may be, another name for *Sārasvatī*,<sup>25</sup> presupposes a long period of active literary pursuit and deep speculation about the nature of the wonderful phenomenon of speech itself.<sup>26</sup> The philosophers of that age seem to have already formed a conception of the four stages, designated by later writers as (1) the *Parā*, (2) the *Paśyanti*, (3) the *Madhyamā* and (4) the *Vaikhari*, of the manifestation of the phenomenon of speech. The first three of these were conceived as being purely mental processes, which, according to those thinkers, preceded the physical production of speech, through the working of the lungs, the throat and the mouth at the fourth stage, when alone speech as such could be physically observed as being made as well as heard. *Dirghatamas Aucathya* was apparently thinking of these four stages of speech over which, according to him, it extended (*pārimita*) and which could be recognised, mentally and that, too, only by those *brāhmaṇas* (scholars) who were well practised in deep meditation (*manīṣinah*), all men, including these scholars, using, by actually speaking, only one-fourth of speech, three-fourths of it remaining hidden in their mind and, therefore, not conveying anything to them.<sup>27</sup>

25. The word *sārasvatī* is a homonym. denoting 'speech (*vāc*-)' and 'river (*nadī*-)' in general and also, a particular river (cf., *Nighaṇṭu* I, 11; 13). While *Yāska* (*Nir.* IX, 26) has derived this word, in its latter sense of 'river' from *√sr* 'move', he does not seem to have taken notice of this word in its former sense of 'speech' which, as such, may have to be traced to (*√svr*>) *√sr* 'scound' (*Pā.- Dhā.* I, 957).

26. *RV* X, 125, 5.

27. *RV* I, 164, 45. Cf., in this connection, *Bhartṛhari's* own *Ṭṛti* on his *Vākyapadīya*, I, 134 (Edn., K. A. S. Iyer, Poona, 1966, pp. 213 ff.) and *Nārāyaṇa-pūrvatāpinīyopaniṣad*, V. 34 (Edn. *Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads*, Adyar, 1933, p. 79). It may just be indicated here that *Yāska*, while expounding this *ṛk* in his *Nirukta* (XIII, 9), construed nom. sing. *vāk* as gen. sing. *vācaḥ* and by taking *pārimitā* as nom. plu., related it, as conveying the limitation, to *catvāri padāni*, instead of taking, as it should have been done, *pārimitā* as a predicative attribute (*vidheya*) of *vāk*, with *padāni* in acc. plu., as its object conveying intimate local extension (*Pāṇini* II, 3, 5). In equating, on the basis of a certain Brāhmaṇic passage (cf., *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* I, 11, 5; *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* XIV, 5, etc.), *catvāri padāni* and the opinions of different schools as mentioned by him, with various quadruple groups he seems to have missed an important factor in this discussion, namely, that the said groups, would either represent some aspect of or become associated with speech only when the latter had become manifest (cf., the word *sr̥ṣṭā* in the opening sentence of his own said Brāhmaṇic citation, i.e., *sā vai vāk sr̥ṣṭā caturdhā vyabhavat*) and, therefore, could not have any bearing on the three pre-manifestation stages of speech which, as the Vedic poet had conceived,



Bṛhaspati Āṅgīrasa, in his highly inspiring hymn in praise of knowledge (*jñāna*) as imparted by speech,<sup>28</sup> divided the process of manifestation of speech into two stages, to wit, the one, at which speech assumed the form of actual utterance (*prathamām vācō dgram yāt pratrata... āsit preṇā*<sup>29</sup> *tāt... āviḥ*) and the other, at which, in its pre-utterance conceptual aspect, it remained in the mind (*nihitaṁ gūhā*) where it grew and developed in the form of ideas, reflecting the best and blameless content of the personality of those who were going to express the said ideas (*yād eṣāṁ śrēṣṭham yād ariprām āsit*).<sup>30</sup> That

remained hidden within the mind of every speaker (*guhā trīṇi nihitā*) and, accordingly, could not be made any significantly expressive use of (*neṅyanti*). Cf., in this connection, AV II, 1, 2 and VS XXXII, 9 where *Brāhman*, in the sense of the noumenon, i.e., the ultimate principle underlying the phenomenon, i.e., the world of appearance, and not in that of speech which, too, though the word *Brāhman* connotes, is referred to and it is said that three parts of It if, indeed, any parts could be predicated of It, lie hidden in the cave (of unknowability, only one-fourth, so to say, of It, becoming manifest). Likewise, cf., RV X, 90, where it is said in reference to *Puruṣā*, being just another name for *Brāhman*, that, all the beings (*viśvā bhūtāni*) that, evidently, form the world of appearance, cover but one-fourth of Him, (*pādo'sya*), three-fourths of Him (*tripādasya*) being eternal (*amṛtam*) in His own glory (*divi*) and, therefore, being beyond human ken (cf., next verse also where the same idea is repeated). Clearly, then, speech (*vāk*), when measured (*pāramitā*) as a whole, is, likewise, conceived in RV I, 164, 45 as extending over or consisting of four (*catvāri*) steps, stages or tiers (*padāni*) and as remaining wrapped up in the mental folds and therefore, being inscrutable during its process through the first three of them and as becoming manifest (*śṛṣṭā* or *dṛṣṭā*) on reaching and passing through the last one of them, namely, that of pronunciation when, only, it becomes an object of audition, either as inarticulate (*aniruktā*, *avyaktā*, *avyākṛtā*) as that of animals other than men or as articulate (*niruktā*, *vyaktā*, *vyākṛtā*) as that of men in normal condition. It was rather unfortunate that Patañjali (*MBh.* I, 1, 1) equated *catvāri.. padāni* of RV I, 164, 45 with *catvāri śṛṅgā* of RV IV, 58, 3, because while, as explained above, the phenomenon of speech (*vāk*) as a whole, both manifest (*śṛṣṭā*, *dṛṣṭā*) as well as non-manifest (*aśṛṣṭā*, *adṛṣṭā*), formed the subject of the former *ṛk*, the latter *ṛk*, as clearly indicated by the use therein of the verb *roravāti* (roars), referred only to the manifest (*śṛṣṭā*, *dṛṣṭā*) stage of the said phenomenon. No wonder, then, that the famous glossators Kaiyaṭa and Nāgeśa, who commented on his work and, also, the learned Vedic scoholiasts like Sāyaṇa and Dayānanda who took their cue from him and practically embodied his comment in their works, made quite a mess of the point at issue in this context.

28. RV X, 71.

29. Inst. sing. (= *preṇā*) of *preman-* '\*word'.

30. RV X, 71, 1.



he had quite visualised the mental element and, for the matter of that, the psychological and intellectual one as well, preceding the physical manifestation of speech is indicated by himself when he said that the wise uttered forth word with the help of their mind (*yātra dhīra mānasā vācam ākrata*).<sup>31</sup>

Like Dīrghatamas Aucathya, Bṛhaspati also quite knew that the pre-physical aspect of speech as it gradually evolved in the mind of a speaker was much deeper than what he was able to express through the inter-working of his organs of speech and that it was the difference in the measure of this power of expression as found in different speakers (*manojavéṣu āsamā babhūvuh*), on which rested their gradation as learned men; some of them resembling ankle-deep or waist-deep ponds and some others being like the lakes where one could freely dive and bathe (*ādaghndāsa*<sup>32</sup> *upakakṣāsa*<sup>33</sup> *u tve hraddā iva snātva u tve dadṛṣre*).<sup>34</sup> Moreover, in respect of the mental processes, which lay at the back of vocal expression (*javā*),<sup>35</sup> he traced those that pertained to the conscious mind (*mānas-*) to those that preceded them and pertained to the sub-conscious mind (*hṛd-*).<sup>36</sup> He likewise, seems to have been familiar with the theory of language having practically started functioning as an effective medium of human intercourse when, through gradual growth, it had reached the stage at which their respective names had come to be fixed, conventionally, for various objects (*rūpāṇi*) in the world of phenomena (*nāmadhēyaṃ*

31. RV X, 71, 2.

Also cf., *manojavéṣu* in verse 7 and *mānasō javéṣu* in verse 8 as well as fn 35 *infra*.

32. <ā 'upto'+*daghnā\** 'ankle' <√*dagh* '\*join' (cf., Rajwade : *Nirukta* [p. 250; Intro. p. 64] for just a dim idea; vs. Yāska [Nir. I, 9] and the rest to date <ā [= *āśya*—'mouth'] + suf. *daghna* 'reaching upto' [Pā. V, 2, 37]).

33. <āpa 'upto'+*kāḁṣa-* '\*waist' ([\**kakṣā*°]) *sāṣa* [ka] 'waist-wear'; Panj. *kacchā* 'id.'; Hi. *kaccha*[ā], *kacchaṭikā*—'turned-up side of id.'; vs. others taking *kāḁṣa-* = 'arm-pit or shoulder'.

34. RV X, 71, 7.

35. (√*j* 'praise' [Nigh. III, 14; IV, 1; Nir. IV, 24]) > \**jarvd-* (cf., *jalpa-*; *jāpa-*; Pers *zabān* 'tongue').

36. RV X, 71, 8.



*dūdhanāḥ*).<sup>37</sup> Generally speaking, also, the Vedic poets, the earlier and the later ones alike, were already conversant with this philosophical concept of the duality of name (*nāman*) and object (*rūpā*) as constituting the universe.<sup>38</sup> Atharvan made bold to bring even the Noumenon (*nāman*), its being devoid of all phenomenal attributes notwithstanding, within the denotative range of nominal expression (*nāman*).<sup>39</sup> Viśvakarman Bhauvana was probably enlarging upon this very idea when he said that the Universal Cause (*Viśvākarman*) was the One alone that might be said to appropriate, of course, figuratively, all the names that belonged, primarily, to the various Gods.<sup>40</sup> It was Dīrghatamas Aucathya, again, who, by pointing out that all the hymns (*īcaḥ*) sang, really, of the Eternal Principle (*akṣure*) which, being all-embracing (*paramē vyōman*), had all the Gods within Itself, supplied a rational explanation of the apparent paradox, namely, that the Universal Cause, which was one and un-namable, being devoid of all attributes, should, at the same time, be possessed of many names belonging to the Gods and not to Itself.<sup>41</sup>

Vāmadeva Gautama, in a hymn<sup>42</sup> which abounds in poetic imagery of a high order, sang, in mystic terms, of Word (*Ghṛtā*),<sup>43</sup>

37. *RV* X, 71, 1.

38. Cf., *rūpāṁrūpāṁ maghāvā bobhavīti...tanvāṁ...svām*, *RV* III, 53, 8; *nāma dhenō strīḥ sapta mātīḥ paramāṇi vīdan*, 1V, 1, 16; *ā nāmabhir marūto... rūpebhir jātavedo huvāndh*, V, 43, 10; *rūpāṁrūpāṁ prātirūpo babhūva tddasya rūpāṁ praticakṣaṇāya indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate*, VI, 47, 18; ... *marūto vyantu vīśvebhir nāmabhir...havīmṣi*, VII 57, 6; *trīḥ sapta nāmāghnyā bibharti*, VII, 87, 4; *kó asmin rūpām adadhāt...nāma ca*, AV X, 2, 12; *ūcchiṣṭe nāma rūpām (āhite)* XI, 7, 1; *āyusca rūpām ca nāma ca...(9)...āpa krāmanti brahmagavīm ādādānasya.....(11)* XII, 5, 9-11.

39. *nāma nāmna jōhavīti* AV X, 7, 31. In this passage, the first *Nāman*-which is related to *jōhavīti* as its object, is used in the sense of the Noumenon and, as such, is to be differentiated from the second *nāman* 'name' and may accordingly be derived from *\*nar(nā)* 'cause, create'. It stands for *Skambhā* and *Brāhman* being the two other prominent names by which the Ultimate Reality is indicated in the hymn under reference. The use of the word *nāman* in this sense is, even today, traditionally alive in the mystic parlance of modern Indian saint-poets (cf., *Nām kī maihimā Ved na jāne*, Nānak, *Ādigrantha*).

40. *yó devānām nāmadhā ēka evā*, *RV* X, 82, 3.

41. *yásmin devā ādhi vīśve niṣedūḥ*, *RV* 1, 164, 39.

42. *RV* IV, 58.

43. <√ghṛ (≡√gr, *Pā.-Dhā.* IX, 26) 'utter'. For the phonetic variation, g : gh, cf., √gr (*Pā.-Dhā.* I, 962) 'flush' : √ghṛ (*Pā.-Dhā.* I, 963; III, 14; X, 117) 'id'.



apotheosized and conceived, probably, on the basis of a pun,<sup>44</sup> as a roaring Bull, characterised by four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands and bound by a triple bond.<sup>45</sup> He spoke of Its sweet (*mādhumān*) current (*ūrmih*), surging up (*ūdārat*) from the deep ocean (*samudrāt*) of the heart (*hṛdyāt*) and becoming invested with immortality (*amṛtatvām ānaṭ*) through significant manifestation (*amśūna*)<sup>46</sup> and, also, described the mystic (*gūhyam*) code (*nāma*) that was inherent in It, as the tongue (*jihvā*) of the Gods (*devānām*), being the only medium of their expressive intercourse with man, and as the centre (*nābhīh*) of the elixir of life (*amṛtasya*).<sup>47</sup> That the poet was speaking of the currents, which ran into hundreds of directions (*śatāvrajaḥ*),<sup>48</sup> as consisting of 'words' (*ghṛtasya*)<sup>49</sup> and not, as understood so far, of 'clarified butter' (*ghṛtasya*), may be evident from his having alluded to the same by employing, for them, the word *dhénā*<sup>50</sup> which is a recognised synonym of *vāc* 'speech' itself.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, only such currents, and not those consisting of clarified butter, could be spoken of as having been purified through the mind and the heart within.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, *ghṛtā* in the sense, as suggested here, of 'word' alone could be said to have taken the entire (*viśvam*) world (*bhūvanam*) within its fold (*dhāman*) and itself to have found shelter for itself in the deep recesses within the human heart.<sup>53</sup> Likewise, it was this 'word' (*ghṛtā*) alone which, when being recited (*śasyāmānam*), the priest Brahman could listen to.<sup>54</sup>

44. i.e., on the word *vṛṣabhd* 'bull' (< *vṛṣ* \* *vṛah* 'carry, draw') as well as 'word' (< *vṛṣ* \* *vṛac* 'speak').

45. *RV* IV, 58, 3.

46. It is implied here that, in speaking, one could throw light (*amśu*) on a subject through significant expression which, thus, became identical with 'light'.

47. Cf., *RV* IV, 58, 1 and 5.

48. *Ibid.*, verse 5.

49. Cf., fn. 43 *supra*.

50. *RV* IV, 58, 6.

51. Cf., *Nigh.* I, 11.

52. *antār hṛdā mānasā pūyāmānāḥ*, *RV* IV, 58, 6.

53. *antdh samudré hṛdyāntār āyusi*, *RV*, IV, 58, 11.

54. *Ibid.*, verse 2.



Accordingly, it would be only this (*etāt*) divine *Ghṛtā* which could plausibly be spoken of as having been emitted by the equally divine quadri-horned (*cātuḥ-śṛṅgaḥ*) Bull (*Gaurāḥ*)<sup>55</sup> Who must be no other than the apotheosized male consort of *gaurī* being another synonym of *vāc* 'speech'<sup>56</sup> and, also, the above mentioned roaring Bull (*vr̥ṣabhāḥ*).

Against the above contextual background, it seems plain enough that the four horns, the three feet, the two heads, the seven hands and the three bonds, which have been mentioned as pertaining to the said Bull, should be taken as representing the several grammatical categories into which the Vedic grammarians had already divided their language. The express use, in *Maitrāyaṇī Samhita*,<sup>57</sup> *Kāṭhaka Samhita*,<sup>58</sup> and *Śāṅkhayana Brāhmaṇa*<sup>59</sup> of the term *vibhakti* in the sense of case-form and the injunction that only particular case-forms, six in number, of the Deity-name Agni should be inserted in the six particular *mantras* to be recited in the *Prayāja* and the the *Anuyāja* rites may also be taken as an indication in the same direction.

The puzzle-like manner in which these categories have been mentioned may be but a proof of their having been familiarly known and remembered, towards ready reference in their respective numerical groupings such as dyads, triads etc. This method of remembering various groups by the numbers of their respective constituents has been quite popular in all ages and everywhere in respect of, practically, all human pursuits, intellectual as well general. Obviously enough, it was necessary that these numerical groups should be understood and interpreted according to the nature of each particular context as at issue. Therefore, in view of the nature, as discussed above, of the present context, Patañjali may be said to have correctly identified the said Bull's four horns with the four parts of speech, *viz.*, nouns, verbs, prepositions and particles, three feet with the three tenses, *viz.*, the past, the future

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55. *RV* IV, 58, 2.

56. Cf. *Nigh.* I, 11.

57. *Mait.S* I, 7, 3.

58. *Kāṭh. S* IX, 1.

59. *Śāṅkh. Br.* I, 4.



and the present, two heads with the two aspects of word (*śabda*), viz., the eternal and the effected, seven hands with the seven cases (*vibhaktayaḥ*) and three places of fastening with the chest, the throat and the head.<sup>60</sup> There could possibly be some difference of opinion regarding the details of identification of these numerical groupings with the various grammatical categories and other aspects of language, but it seems certain that the context in question pertains to the glorification of speech. Thus, it might be evident from the above discussion that when the Vedic poets appeared on the scene, the grammarians of that age seem to have already carried on the process of breaking up (*vyākaraṇa*) of their language and, thereby, comprehended it as being constituted of several parts of speech which, on having emerged as nominal stems (*pratipadikāni*) as well as verbal roots (*dhātavaḥ*), simple (*śuddha*), derivative (*taddhita*) and composite (*samāsa*), assumed different declensional (*subanta*) and conjugational (*tiṅanta*) forms and lent themselves, for purposes of ready reference to being learnt up by heart, category-wise, as various numerical groups such as dyads, triads etc.

Moreover, there are indications in the *Samhitas*, right from *Rgveda* downwards, which show that the linguisticians of that period

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60. Cf. *MBh.* I, 1, 1. But it is passing strange that, among the ancient traditional writers, Patañjali alone should have interpreted the verse in question in the linguistic context and all others including Yāska (*Nir.* XIII, 9), Śābara (*Bhāṣya* on *Mīmāṃsā* I, 2, 46), Kumārila (*Tantravārttika* on *id.*), Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Sāyaṇa should have found in it an allusion to a purely ritualistic context. It is quite understandable that the ritualistic dialecticians, Śābara and Kumārila should have utilized this ritualistic interpretation, which is found in *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 2, 16), towards indicating when and where to construe a passage, figuratively (*arthavāda*). One would, however, expect that, at least, a linguisticians and theographical critic like Yāska should have tried, first, to find out the principal (*pradhāna*) deity (*devatā*), as distinct from the secondary (*naighaṇṭuka*) ones of the hymn in question, and, then, to proceed to identify the aforesaid various numerical groups of the present context in the light of his own said finding. Possibly, he may not have to be held answerable for this portion of *Nirukta* which, as evidenced by its style, seems to have been added by some later compiler of much lesser calibre. The pantheographical texts, namely, *Sarvānukramanī* and *Bṛhaddevatā* (V, 11) also did no better in this matter because they contented themselves with recording that, according to the various prevailing views, Sūrya or Agni or Āpaḥ or Gāvaḥ or Ghṛta (Ājya) might be the Deity proper and took no decision of their own. The modern Vedists, too, have hardly made any new contribution on this topic.



had also carried on intensive speculations on the process of growth of language and succeeded in conceiving the well-known theory of verbal (*dhātujā*) origin of nouns (*nāmāni*), which, later on, led to the formulation of the Vedic Science of Etymology (*Nirukta-Vedāṅga*). Just an illustrative reference here to a few surmises of the Vedic etymologists may be useful. Thus, Medhātithi Kāṇva seems to have bifurcated, in his mind, the word *Draviṇodās*, being an attributive name of Agni, into *drávinas-* and *dás-*, synonymically equating the first component with the word *vásu-* 'wealth' and relating the second component to  $\sqrt{dā}$  'give'.<sup>61</sup> That he was invoking the said God as a 'giver' (*dadi*) was confirmed, further on, by himself.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Bhṛgu, in a hymn in praise of Waters (*Āpah*), derived, in unmistakably clear terms, the word *nadī-* 'stream' from  $\sqrt{nad}$  'sound', the word *áp-* 'water' from  $\sqrt{āp}$  'reach', the word *vāra-* 'water' from  $\sqrt{(vr>)}vāri$  'check' and the word *udakū-* 'water' from  $\sqrt{ud} + \sqrt{an}$  'heave'.<sup>63</sup>

The above discussion regarding the antiquity, nature and descriptive characteristics, both primary as well as metaphorical, of the linguistic concepts of the Vedic age might help us to put, positively, our finger on those which (*yé*), according to Atharvan, in becoming \*expressive (*bibhrataḥ*),<sup>64</sup> filed in threes and sevens (*triṣaptāḥ*),

61. Cf., RV I, 15, 8.

62. *Ibid.*, verse 10.

63. AV III, 13, 1-4.

64. The participle *bibhrat-*, as used here, is related to  $\sqrt{bhr}$  '\*speak'. For the use of  $\sqrt{bhr}$  in this sense, viz., 'speak, say, express,' cf. *bhārāmy āngśān*, RV I, 61, 2; *āpa stūtim bhāramānasya kārōh*, RV I, 148, 2; *vī yād vācam kṛstāso bhādrante*, RV VI, 67, 10; *visṛṣṭadhenū bharate ... indram jōhuvātī manīṣā*, RV VII, 24, 2; *kārdm bibhrat*, RV IX, 14, 1; *tē hi prajāyā ābharanta vī śrāvo*, RV X, 92, 10; *ślōkam ghōsam bharathēndrāya*, RV X, 94, 1; Although Pā.-Dhā. does not record  $\sqrt{bhr}$  in this sense, its existence in OIA may be said to be indicated by  $\sqrt{bhr}$  (Pā.-Dhā. IX, 19),  $\sqrt{bhal}$ ,  $\sqrt{bhall}$  (Pā.-Dhā. I. 496; 497) and  $\sqrt{bharts}$  (Pā.-Dhā. X, 149), all of which, used as they were in the sense of admonishing or scolding (*paribhāṣana* etc.), represented a particular aspect of speech, namely, the harsh one. Of these four radicals, while the first three were phonetic variants of  $\sqrt{bhr}$  (*bhar*), the fourth, namely,  $\sqrt{bharts}$  was a composite radical with  $\sqrt{bhr}$  as its first component. This  $\sqrt{bhr}$  (*bhar*) itself seems to have



\*denote (*pariyānti*),<sup>65</sup> all (*viśvā*) phenomenal forms (*rūpāni*)

developed from  $\sqrt{*bhr̥dh}$  which is represented by  $\sqrt{vr̥dh}$  'speak (*bhāṣaṇa*)' *Pā.-Dhā.* X, 250). Indeed, this radical has undergone, down the ages, phonetic modifications which, through all possible permutations and combinations, are, practically, countless. Generally speaking, the initial sound *bhr̥*, besides maintaining itself as *bhr̥*, *bhra* or *bha* has tended to appear as *pr*, *pra* or *pa*, *phr̥*, *phra* or *pha* (*fr̥*, *fra* or *fa*), *br̥*, *bra* or *ba*, *mr̥*, *mra* or *ma*, *vr̥*, *vra* or *va*, *u*, *h̥r̥*, *hra* or *ha*, *r̥* or *a*. Likewise, its second sound *dh*, besides maintaining itself as such, has tended to appear as *t*, *th*, *d*, *t̄*, *th̄*, *d̄*, *dh̄*, *l*, *r*, *l̄*, *j*, *j̄*, *jh*, *y* or *i*. Although a very large number of examples are available to indicate the occurrence of this radical in one or another of its said phonetic variations at all the Indo-Aryan, the Indo-Iranian and the Indo-European levels, it is hardly practicable to marshal, properly, the whole illustrative data here and the same is contemplated to form the subject of a separate treatment elsewhere. However, a few more examples of the occurrence of the said radical, in its several variational forms, in OIA may be added here. Thus, the following roots, as recorded in *Pā.-Dhā.* in the sense of 'speaking', in general or in some aspects of it, can be described as direct lineal descendants of our aforesaid postulate  $\sqrt{*bhr̥dh}$ : *√am̐h*, *√ajj*, *√an̐*, *√am̐*, *√amb*, *√am̐h*, *√jarc*, *√jarj*, *√jarjh*, *√jart̐s*, *√ji*, *√jinv*, *√juñc*, *√jr̥* (*jar*), *√jarjh*, *√tark̐*, *√amb*, *√am̐h*, *√jarc*, *√jarj*, *√jarjh*, *√jart̐s*, *√ji*, *√jinv*, *√juñc*, *√jr̥* (*jar*), *√jarjh*, *√tark̐*, *√stad̐*, *√tik̐*, *√tig̐*, *√tus̐*, *√tuuj̐*, *√trams̐*, *√trap̐*, *√dal̐*, *√dams̐*, *√dams̐s̐*, *√div̐*, *√dis̐*, *√dundubhy̐*, *√drekh̐*, *√dhan̐*, *√dhan̐n̐*, *√dham̐*, *√dhis̐*, *√dhūp̐*, *√dhmā̐*, *√dhran̐*, *√dhran̐*, *√dhrek̐*, *√dhvan̐*, *√nat̐*, *√nad̐*, *√nam̐*, *√nard̐*, *√nal̐*, *√nās̐*, *√pat̐*, *√paṭh̐*, *√pan̐*, *√pan̐*, *√pard̐*, *√pin̐s̐*, *√piṭ̐*, *√piñj̐*, *√puṭ̐*, *√pūṭ̐*, *√pr̥ñj̐*, *√ban̐*, *√barh̐*, *√balh̐*, *√buk̐k̐*, *√br̥m̐h*, *√br̥h̐*, *√bran̐*, *√br̥ū̐*, *√bhajj̐*, *√bhat̐*, *√bhan̐*, *√bhand̐*, *√bhal̐*, *√bhall̐*, *√bh̥m̐s̐*, *√bh̥ran̐*, *√man̐h̐*, *√man̐*, *√marc̐*, *√marv̐*, *√mā̐*, *√mārj̐*, *√mijj̐*, *√mis̐*, *√mī̐*, *√mīm̐*, *√muj̐*, *√muñj̐*, *√ml̐cc̐h̐*, *√rañgh̐*, *√ram̐h̐*, *√rat̐*, *√raṭh̐*, *√ran̐*, *√ramb̐*, *√rambh̐*, *√riph̐*, *√rih̐*, *√rās̐*, *√rās̐*, *√ru̐*, *√rum̐s̐*, *√rum̐s̐*, *√rut̐*, *√ruth̐*, *√ret̐*, *√rebh̐*, *√res̐*, *√rai̐*, *√lañgh̐*, *√lajj̐*, *√lañd̐*, *√lamb̐*, *√lambh̐*, *√liñj̐*, *√luñja̐*, *√luṭ̐*, *√lok̐*, *√loc̐*, *√vac̐*, *√vat̐*, *√van̐*, *√vad̐*, *√van̐*, *√varn̐*, *√varh̐*, *√val̐*, *√valk̐*, *√valh̐*, *√vās̐*, *√vās̐*, *√vic̐ch̐*, *√vit̐*, *√vid̐*, *√vidh̐*, *√vrt̐*, *√vr̥dh̐*, *√vr̥h̐*, *√ven̐*, *√ven̐*, *√vran̐*, *√hres̐*, *√hr̥ad̐*, *√hlad̐*, *√hlād̐*, *√hve̐*. Similarly, the words like *pañda-* 'learning', *pañdita-* 'learned', *pada-* 'word', *para-* '\*denoting' (in *taṭ-*, *yaṭ-* etc.), *brāhmaṇ-* 'prayer', *brahmān-* 'priest', *brāhmaṇa-* 'learned man', *medhā-* 'prayer', *varṇa-* 'sound', *vrata-* 'word', *vārtā-* 'story', *vārttika-* 'comment', *vipra-* 'priest' (<*\*vidha-para-* 'one whose profession is to say prayers'), *vytti-* 'gloss', and, also, *dditi*, *addhātī*, *ilā*, *r̥bhū*, *jarit̐*, *jihvā*, *dhāmāni*, *dhārā*, *dhīra*, *dhenū*, *dhīdānā*, *dhēnā*, *pavī*, *bekurā*, *bhāratā*, *matī*, *mandrā*, *mahī*, *māyū*, *medhāvī*, *mēnā*, *melī*, *rudrā*, *rebhā*, *valgū*, *vāk*, *vāṇā*, *vāṇī*, *vāsī*, *vīgra*, *vidhātā*, *vipā*, *vipanzū*, *vipāścita*, *vipā*, *vipra*, *vedhā*, *veṇā*, *hōtrā*, as recorded in *Nighaṇṭu* (I, 11 ; III, 15 ; 16), representing, as they also do, 'speech', in general or in some aspects of it, can ultimately be traced to the self-same postulate  $\sqrt{*bhr̥dh}$ .

65. *vi(ay)*, as used here, is being taken as a phonetic variant of  $\sqrt{*bhr̥dh}$  'speak' (cf. fn. 64 *supra*). It is this meaning of *vi* which is found in its derivative *paryūya-* 'synonym', which *Paṇini* (III, 3, 38) apparently failed to take notice of.



and for the \*expressions (*bāla*)<sup>66</sup> of which the poet invoked, most appropriately, the Lord of Speech (*Vācáspati*). The Vedic mind having already recognised, as stated above, the universe as constituted of the name (*nāman*) and the form (*rūpá*), Atharvan, in his present invocation, must have been thinking of the entirety of name (*nāman*) which alone could denotatively comprehend the entirety of phenomenal form (*rūpá*), but which, probably, to enhance the poetic effect, he preferred to introduce, indirectly, by referring to two of its contemporarily most familiar<sup>67</sup> numerical groupings, to wit, triplets and septets. Evidently, like Vāmadeva Gautama who, as we have seen above, made use of these along with some other numerical groupings for describing the bull that stood, metaphorically, for speech, Atharvan employed the said two numerical groupings which, on account of their being characteristically connected, as the three genders or the three numbers (*vacanāni*) and the seven cases (*vibhaktayaḥ*), with the nouns (*nāmāni*), would readily present the same to the mind of the reader or listener. Possibly, the ancient term *nāman* stood for the word (*śabda*-), in general, including all the four parts of speech, viz., the nouns, the particles, the prepositions and the verbs, the first and the last of these being most prominent and the second and the third being, even though indeclinable, sub-grouped under the first.<sup>68</sup> In that case, the two numerical groupings, in this context, might also cover the verbs (*akhyatani*), the triplets standing for the three persons or the three numbers and the septets for the three tenses and the four moods.<sup>69</sup>

66. <√(\*bhr̥dh)> *bal* 'speak' (cf. fn. 64 *supra*. Also, cf. *Tai.-Upa*, I, 2, 1 for the use of the word *bāla*- to denote a particular vocal aspect).

67. Cf., e.g., *viṣṇus trir vikramate ... vācam*, *A.-Br.* VI, 15; *saptadhā vai vāgavadat*, *A.-Br.* II, 17; *tryāvṛd vai vāk*, *Tāṇḍ.-Br.* X, 4, 6; 9.

68. Cf., *avyayād āpsupaḥ*, *Pā.* II, 4, 82.

69. Pāṇini distinguished ten morphological norms of verb, namely, *Laṭ*, *Liṭ*, *Luṭ*, *Lṛṭ*, *Leṭ*, *Loṭ*, *Lañ*, *Liñ*, *Luñ* and *Lṛñ*, and referred to the same by the term *L*, i.e., *Lakāra*, being the initial sound which was common to all of them. (*Pā.* III, 4, 69). Out of the said ten norms, while *Laṭ* represented the present tense, *Liṭ*, *Lañ* and *Luñ* did the past tense and *Luṭ* and *Lṛṭ* the future tense. Although Classical Sanskrit often sought to introduce a clear distinction, as recorded by Pāṇini (III, 2, 110; 111, 115), in the use of *Liṭ* as 'past perfect', *Lañ* as 'past imperfect' and *Luñ* as 'past', in general, including 'present perfect'. Vedic Sanskrit hardly knew anything of this distinction (cf. *Pā.* III, 4, 6). So, generally speaking, *Liṭ*, *Lañ* and *Luñ* stood for only one tense, namely, the



'past'. Similarly, *Luṭ*, which, practically, was not used in Vedic Sanskrit, but, in Classical Sanskrit, represented a particular aspect of the 'future tense' (cf. *Pā.* III, 3, 15), could not be considered as a separate tense. Coming to the moods, these were recognised as four in number, namely, *Leṭ* 'injunctive and subjunctive,' *Loṭ* 'imperative' and *Liṅ* standing for both *Vidhi-Liṅ* 'optative, and potential' and *Āśir-Liṅ* 'benedictive'. The tenth *Lakāra*, namely, *Lṛṭ* representing, as it did, 'condition precedent' which not having been fulfilled, could not lead to the expected resultant action (cf. *Pā.* III, 3, 139), could, at best, be taken as abortive 'potential mood (*Vidhi-Liṅ*)' and not as an independent mood.



# SASARPARĪ : A WAR-SPELL FROM THE ṚGVEDA\*

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The *Ṛgveda* (RV) records various rites prescribed to be performed at the advance of the army.<sup>1</sup> One such rite appears to be enshrined in the word *Sasarparī* which occurs twice in the RV (3. 53. 15, 16) and nowhere else in the Vedic literature.

Various interpretations have been given to this word. According to tradition it indicates the 'moving' Speech (*sarpaṇasīlā vāk*) which helped Viśvāmitra gain a point over his rival Vasiṣṭha in a wordy conflict. It has also been said to indicate the cow and the war-trumpet. The interpretation of *Sasarparī* as cow might suit its description 'roared loudly' (*bṛhan mimāya*) but goes against its 'having wings' (*pakṣyā*). The war-trumpet has obviously been suggested from *Sasarparī* being said to have roared loudly.<sup>2</sup> But, as we shall see, the words *bṛhan mimāya* need not suggest the war-trumpet. H.D. Velankar, suggesting that it indicated the 'winged devil' (Cf. *pakṣiṇī hetih*, RV, 10. 165. 2, 3), himself doubts the suggestion, for *Sasarparī* is said to have been given to Viśvāmitra by the Jamadagni-s who were respectable and, so, could not be said to have given a devil (*yātu*). It is necessary to note the difference between *pakṣiṇī hetih* and *Sasarparī*. The former is the epithet of the bird *kapota* which, along with the owl, is said to be the messenger of the god of Death (*dūto nirṛtyāh*). *Sasarparī* is not said to be an evil-doer. The traditional interpretation suggesting a wordy conflict between Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha is obviously based on the word *amati* which is taken to mean 'lack of mental faculty'.

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1. See S.A. Dange, 'Aspects of war from the Ṛgveda', *J Indian History* 44 (1966) 125-38.

2. For these interpretations see H.D. Velankar's translation of the hymn in *J Bombay U*, 23 (May 1955), note on the verses. Ludwig renders it as *Kuh* (*Der Rigveda*, II, (Prag, 1876, p. 651) and Grassman as *Stromende Kuh*, (*Rigveda*, I, p. 583). Böhlingk and Roth, *Wörterbuch* have *Kriegstrompete*. See also Geldner, *Der Rig-veda*, I, pp. 394-95.

3. Velankar *ibid.*, loc. cit.



While attempting to suggest a fresh interpretation of the word *Sasarparī* it is important to note that the word occurs in the context of the sacrificial release of the horse of Sudās; and, so, its employment has to be taken as an integral part of the ritual. The ritual starts with the consecration of the horse by the Kuśika-s and ends with the note of the advance of the Bharata-s. It is the same horse that is earlier said to have been consecrated for the glory of king Sudās, who is blessed for his conquering his enemies in the eastern, western and northern quarters and to sacrifice on earth.<sup>4</sup> The occasion is, thus, the horse-sacrifice of Sudās, as Prof. Velankar points out convincingly.<sup>5</sup> A thorough examination of the epithets of *Sasarparī* would go well to solve the riddle surrounding this word,

### The Destroyer of Amati

*Sasarparī* is said to be the destroyer or expeller of *amati* (*amatim bādhamāna*). This expression has been understood to mean 'warding off of ignorance' (cf. Sāyaṇa). The *Bṛhaddevatā* narrating the story of the wordy conflict in which Viśvāmitra lost his mental faculty and was helped by Jamadagni, obviously sees a contrast between *mati* and *a-mati* or the negation of *mati*. A closer examination of this word, however, shows that the contrast is unwarranted. It can be shown that it has the connotation of evil. Thus, the Āditya-s are invoked to remove *śaru* (the dart) and *amati* (*RV* 8.18.11). The contrast seems to be between the visible cause injury (*śaru*) and an invisible or, better, an unthinkable one. The evils of *a-vīratā* (sonlessness) and *amati* figure together (7. 1. 19; 30. 16. 5). Sin and *amati* are spoken of together (4. 11. 6). The expression *amatim bādhamāna* has a parallel in the *maṇḍala* of the Viśvāmitra-s, in the invocation of the *yūpa* (3. 8. 2, *amatim bādhamānaḥ*); and the *amati*, there, is indicated to be something not inherent in the person but which could infest him. That is why it is desired to be away (*āre asmad-*). The *yūpa* is invoked to be hoisted for great prosperity (*mahate saubhagāya*) keeping *amati* away, thus striking a clear contrast between *amati* and prosperity. The mind is said to tremble and dread from *amati* (5. 36. 3, *vepate*

4. *RV* 3. 59. 11, *rājā vṛtram jaṅghanat prāg apāg udag athā yajāte vara ā prthivyāḥ*. For the sense in *vṛtrāṇi*, see Dange, *op. cit.*, p. 137; also, the same author, 'Survivals in the Rgvedic Indra myth', *J Nagpur Uni.*, 15. ii (April 1965) 175 f.

5. 'Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the Rgveda', *Mirashi Fel. Volume*, (Nagpur, 1965), pp. 1-6.



*mano me bhiyā amateḥ*). The word *amati*, thus, has the sense of 'evil', and, it is this belief of *amati* being something to be dreaded that is reflected in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (2. 2). The *RV* associates *amati* not only with the lack of food or clothes (8, 66. 14 ; 10. 43. 3) but also with Death (10. 76. 4). *Amati* being, thus, inauspicious, is to be kept away or avoided. *Sasarpari* wards off *amati* and, as a result, immortal fame is gained among the five tribes (*śravaḥ pāñcajanyaśu kṛṣṭiṣu* ; see also, *śravo deveṣu amṛtam ajuryam*). On the occasion of the release of the sacrificial horse, the evil that might infest him is sought to be driven away by *Sasarpari*.

### The Winged Daughter of the Sun

*Sasarpari* is said to be the daughter of the sun and also one having wings (*sūryasya duhitā* and *pakṣya*). *Sūryasya duhitā* appears to be the most important and suggestive epithet of *Sasarpari*, connecting it with a well founded belief current among the Vedic people according to which the sun has wings. The prominent example of this belief is the hymn used at the horse sacrifice (*RV* 1. 163), where the sacrificial horse representing the Sun is praised as having the wings of the hawk (1. 163. 1).<sup>6</sup> That the *Rgveda* reflects the belief in the beneficial energy having wings is proved by another example, viz., the boat that is fashioned for Bhujyu (1. 185. 5). Now, if the sun has wings, the daughter of the sun could well be believed to have them. Who could this Daughter-of-the-Sun be? The *RV* makes mention of the belief that the Daughter-of-the-Sun is associated with the ritual of Soma. She is said to be cleansing Soma (9. 1. 6) and to have restored Soma that was stolen by the Gandharva-s (9. 113. 3). It is this belief in the Daughter-of-the-Sun bringing Soma, after defeating the obstructing Gandharva-s that gets developed into the legend of *Somāharāṇa* in the other Vedic texts, where she is said to be the *Gayatrī*.<sup>7</sup> According to another Vedic belief, the rays of the sun are called *suparna*-s and the metres are called the *Sauparna*-s,<sup>8</sup> and the birds. They fly to fetch Soma.<sup>9</sup> Of all the metres, it is the *Gayatrī* that is termed *Savitṛi* and which flies

6. Compare the Egyptian belief of the sun-hawk Horus, Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1959), p. 150.

7. *Taitt. Sam.* 6. 1. 6. 1; *Mait. Sam.* 3. 7. 7 ; etc.

8. *Nirukta* 4. 3, commenting on *RV* 10. 73. 11 (Ed. V. K. Rajwade, Poona, 1940, p. 56).

9. *Kāṭhaka Sam.* 34.3; *Taitt. Sam.* 6. 1. 6. 1, etc. See J. Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage* (Uppsala, 1920), Dange, *Legends in the Mahabharata*, Chapter I.



to fetch Soma in the form of the bird *śyena* (hawk) whose wings the Sun-horse is said to be endowed with. The concept of *Sasarpārī*, the Daughter-of-the-Sun having wings, is thus exactly the same as that of the *Savitri-Gāyatrī*, both indicating the Solar energy conceived in the form of a bird. This gets support from the fact that the *Savitri-Gāyatrī* is traditionally believed to be the most remarkable contribution of the Viśvāmitra-s to the Vedic ritual of *upanayana*.<sup>10</sup>

### The Bestower of new life

*Sasarpārī* is said to bestow new life (*navyam āyur dadhāna*). In this she conforms with the *Savitri-Gāyatrī*, which is said to give new life to the initiate when he becomes a *dvija*. This epithet of the *Sasarpārī* is particularly suitable in the context of the advance of the army for the protection of the sacrificial horse, where battles are expected and life is in danger, prior to final victory. Vedic tradition believes in the metres saving one from death.<sup>11</sup> In the legends *Gāyatrī* is associated with the bringing of Soma, the nectar-juice of immortality, and bestowing new life at the ritual. In the *upanayana* the initiate is supposed, ritually, to die and is brought to life by *Gāyatrī-Savitri*.<sup>12</sup>

### Sasarpārī and the Gāyatrī-Sāvitri

*Sasarpārī* and *Gāyatrī* have one important point in common. The former has been said to be the gift of the Jamadagni-s to Viśvāmitra (cf. *Jamadagni-datta*, *RV* 3. 53. 15, and *Palasti-Jamadagnayo daduḥ*, 3. 53. 16). Now, there is reason to believe that the famous *Gāyatrī*, which, according to tradition, pertains to the Viśvāmitra-s, pertained originally to the Jamadagni-s. The hymn in which the famous *Savitri-Gāyatrī* occurs (*RV* 3. 62) ends with a verse which mentions Jamadagni as the seer though it occurs in the family maṇḍala of the Viśvāmitra-s. There appears to be some doubt about the composition of the entire hymn. Following the tradition, Śaṅkara says that the last three verses were composed by Jamadagni while the rest were by Viśvāmitra. It is to be noted here that nowhere else in the family maṇḍala of the Viśvāmitra-s does such a combination of these two seers occur. The affinity between the families of Viśvāmitra

10. *Satapatha Br.* 11. 5. 4. 6 enjoins the *Savitri-Gāyatrī*; see also *Gobhila Gr. Sūtra*, 2. 10. 34; *Āśva. Gr. Sūtra* 1. 21. 4. 6, etc.

11. *Mait. Saṁh.* 3. 16. 51; *Gopatha Br. (Uttarārdha)* 5. 1. etc.

12. See Dange, 'Death and re-birth in initiation ceremonies', *Indian Antiquary* (Third series) 1 (1964-65) 104-9, Vaidya Collection.



and Jamadagni is attested by Vedic and later literature. The *RV* mentions Indra favouring Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni (cf. 10. 167. 4, with the dual, *Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī*). The *Taitt. Sam.* mentions Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni jointly as the antagonists of Vasiṣṭha (3. 1. 7. 3, *Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī Vasiṣṭhena aspardhetām*; also, *ibid.* 5. 4. 11. 3). These two sages are said to have been born from *caru*s given by the sage ṛcika to his own wife and to her mother (Cf. *Mahābhārata*, *Anu.*, 4. 20 ff., *Śanti.*, 49. 9 ff., *Bhagavata* 9. 15. 8 f.). This intimate relationship between the two families gives rise to the suspicion whether the entire hymn, and not the last three verses only, was composed by Jamadagni. The *Anukramaṇī* quoted by Sāyaṇa is not clear on this point. Again, out of the eighteen verses in the hymn, the first three are in *Triṣṭubh*, while the rest are in the *Gayatrī*, *Savitrī* being the tenth. That all the verses and hymns in the family maṇḍala are not exclusively composed by the Viśvāmitra-s is proved by yet another example. Hymn 3. 23 is composed by two seers Devavāta and Devaśravas who do not hail from the family of the Viśvāmitra-s but from that of the Bharata-s. In the same manner, it may be that the entire hymn (3. 62) was composed by Jamadagni but came to be inherited by Viśvāmitra, and found its place in the family collection of the latter, due to the close affinity between the two families, which would mean that the famous *Savitrī-Gayatrī* ṛc which occurs in this hymn is by Jamadagni, though it passed into tradition in the name of Viśvāmitra.<sup>13</sup>

The tradition recorded by the *Anukramaṇī* says that *Sasarparī* is the 'moving' speech (*sarpaṇaśīla vāk*). From the context of the release of the 'solar' horse (for the *aśvamedha* of Sudās) that phase of the *vāk* or *mantra* could naturally be expected to embody the 'solar' energy, having the potentiality of bestowing success to an undaunted advance. The case of *Gayatrī* is similar, though she is nowhere called *Sasarparī*. When the *Anuṣṭubh* and the *Jagatī* metres were unsuccessful, it is the *Gayatrī* that fetched Soma, defeating the Gandharva-s (*RV* 9. 113. 3). The belief in the efficaciousness of *Savitrī-Gayatrī* in giving success makes its being chanted as the army advances. According to the *Mahābhārata* (*MBh.*), *Gayatrī* was the binding cord of the chariot of Śiva when he advanced against the Tripuras. (See *MBh.*, *Karna.*, 34. 35; *Drona.*, 202. 75). Even

13. Other instances of non-Viśvāmitra hymns in this family book appear to be hymns 38, 54 and 36. 10.



among the Vasiṣṭha-s a *Savitṛi* seems to have been current, and was to be recited for success at the start of the journey etc. (*MBh.*, *Anu.*, 150. 10 ff., esp. 68).<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that in the hymn which mentions *Sasarpari* and the release of the horse of Sudās, a *verse in the Gāyatrī metre* occurs just after the command to the Kuśika-s to release the horse. The order of the verses in the *sūkta* 3. 53 is as follows :

v. 11. Release the horse of Sudās for glory, Kuśika-s ! May the king vanquish his enemies in the eastern, western and northern quarters.

v. 12. It is the *brahma* of Viśvāmitra that protects the Bharata-s.

v. 13. The Viśvāmitra-s have imparted the *brahma* to Indra, the *vajrin*. May he bestow prosperity upon us.

This verse is in the *Gāyatrī* metre, the only one in this hymn ; and the next verse which marks the spirit of the advance says :

v. 14. Of what avail are the cows in the Kikāṭa-s ?... ..  
Bring to us the wealth of Pramaganda etc.

Immediately after, *Sasarpari* is praised in two verses. Then follow verses which indicate the consecration of the chariot and a spell to protect the bodies of the guards of the horse. The last four verses of the hymn form part of the general ritual of the advance of the sacrificial horse and could better be taken as directed against the enemies in the path of the march,<sup>15</sup> rather than against the Vasiṣṭha-s.<sup>16</sup>

### The Roar of Sasarpari

*Sasarpari* is said to have roared aloud (*bṛhan mimāya*) which gave rise to its being equated with the war-trumpet. But here, again, the belief that the loud chant of the mantra-s is necessary for the

14. The *MBh.* quotes the *Savitṛi* according to the *Parāśara-mata* and as originating from *Vasiṣṭha*. It mentions Viśvāmitra in v. 38 among the sages who honoured it, but in a later verse which enumerates the sages (v. 79) it drops him.

15. Oldenberg's view that the last four verses form a destructive charm against an enemy can be accepted ; but the view that the charm is conducted rightly in some parts and wrongly in the others is not convincing. The whole charm looks to be quite right, and customary at the advance.

16. See Geldner, *Der Rigveda*, I, pp. 394-95, note on the verse. These last verses are called *Vasiṣṭha-dveṣinyah* and the Vasiṣṭha-s do not utter them. This is probably because they form a part of the Viśvāmitra-charm with *Sasarpari*.



desired effect, helps one to arrive at the correct interpretation. Thus, the Daughter-of-the-sun is said to utter a roar in the ritual of the pressing of Soma, which the latter surpasses (*RV* 9.113.3, *sūryasya duhitus tiro ravam*). This roar of the Daughter-of-the-sun is, obviously, the loud chant of the mantra which is believed to help Soma ooze out easily, thus blending the legend of *Somāharana* by *Gayatrī-Savitṛī* and the ritual. The loud chant of the mantra-s was believed to create new vigour, and appears to be a well marked ritual. Thus, the *Vasiṣṭha*-s infuse Indra with valour by the loud chants of the *Śakvarī*-s (*RV* 7. 33. 4), and the chants go roaringly up to pacify the gods at a time when (in war) life is in danger (*RV* 7. 23. 2). Indra is said to have got success by a chant of a mantra in the *Triṣṭubh* metre (*RV* 5. 29. 6). This would show that the roar of the *Sasarparī* need not be the sound of an instrument: On the contrary, it is the loud chant of the mantra, and, in this particular context, the chant of a mantra in the *Gāyatrī* metre.

It is, thus, clear that *Sasarparī* is neither the war-trumpet nor the cow, nor even the winged *yātu* employed by *Viśvāmitra*. It was, no doubt, a mysterious power<sup>17</sup> of the sun. It was given to *Viśvāmitra* by the sagacious *Jamadagni*-s who were closely associated with the family of the former, and who also gave them the famous *Savitṛī-Gāyatrī*. There does not seem to be an actual argument between a *Vasiṣṭha* and a *Viśvāmitra* in this connection, as stated in the tradition recorded by the *Anukramanī*. The occasion appears to be the horse-sacrifice of king *Sudās* where *Viśvāmitra* had full sway in the beginning. The horse was duly consecrated by the *Viśvāmitra*-s with the help of the famous chant *Sasarparī*, which had given them immense success and had raised their prestige. (Cf. verse 3. 53. 15, which indicates the traditional use of the chant by the *Viśvāmitra*-s). It was expected that the advancing spell of *Sasarparī* would bring easy and great glory to their royal patron *Sudās* among the five clans (cf. verse 16).<sup>18</sup> All this was done with a clear mind and without fraud by the *Viśvāmitra*-s, who enjoyed the goodwill of the king and banked upon their own confidence on the spell. But the expedition met with defeat at the banks of the *Paruṣṇī*, endangering the horse, and, as a result, the *Viśvāmitra*-s had to lose their position at the royal court.

17. Cf. H.D. Velankar, 'Viśvāmitra-s and Vasiṣṭha-s in the Rgveda', *Mirashi Fel. Vol.* (Nagpur, 1965), p. 4.

18. Cf. *Sasarparī abharat tūyam ebhyaḥ adhi śravaḥ pāñcājanyaṁsu kṛtiṣu*. (3.53.16). See Sayana who rightly renders *abharat* by *bharatu*.



They had to vacate, leaving the stage clear for the Vasiṣṭha-s who were immediately summoned by the perplexed king, since his army forming the guard of the horse was being slashed (RV 7. 33. 6). It is to be noted that the Vasiṣṭha-s boast of their prowess that saved Sudās in the War-of-ten-kings (RV 7. 33. 3, 4, 6). In all probability, the horse-sacrifice itself led to the War-of-ten-kings<sup>19</sup> which was a decisive event in the life of Sudās. That the defeat of *Sasarpari*, with which the Viśvāmitra-s consecrated the horse, coincides with the War-of-ten-kings is clear from the fact that there is a clear mention of the horse in the Vasiṣṭha-maṇḍala. It is the Vasiṣṭha-s that carry the horse to a safe advance.<sup>20</sup> The Vasiṣṭha-hymn (RV 7. 33), which glorifies the family of Vasiṣṭha-s, marks a clear-cut division. The first six verses refer to a great occasion when the Vasiṣṭha-s had to rush Indra to the help of Sudās,<sup>21</sup> and this great occasion appears to be the War-of-ten-kings, as the verses indicate.

A few parallels between the Vasiṣṭha-hymn (7. 33) and the one having *Sasarpari* (3. 53) may be noted here :

1. The Vasiṣṭha-s (7. 33. 1-4) as against the Kuśika-s (3. 53. 11).
2. The consecration of the chariot at 7. 33. 4 and at 3. 53. 19.
3. The *Śakvari* (7. 33. 4) and the *Sasarpari* (3. 53. 15-16).

The Vasiṣṭha-s infuse strength in Indra with the loudly chanted *Śakvari*-s, as the Viśvāmitra-s tried the *Sasarpari*. We have noted how *Sasarpari* tallies with the *Gāyatrī*. The *Śakvari*-s are so called for, by the employment of these, Indra could vanquish his arch-enemy Vṛtra.<sup>22</sup> It is to be noted that the *Śakvari* is also a chant composed with the *Gāyatrī*.

19. See Velankar, 'Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha in the R̥gveda', *Mirashi Fel. Vol.* (Nagpur, 1965), p. 4. Though Prof. Velankar suggests the possibility of the horse-sacrifice leading to the War-of-ten-kings as a conjecture, the suggestion is highly significant. See note 20, below.

20. Cf. *āśuś caned abhipitvam jagāma*. See Sayana whose rendering appears to be correct. The mention of the horse (*āśu*) is important. It is difficult to account for the horse in any other way. Its apparently sudden mention in an otherwise smooth hymn shows it to embody a fresh event, viz., that of its release at the sacrifice. The hymn is replete with sacrificial similes, and yet refers to the War-of-ten-kings. This gives support to Prof. Velankar's suggestion. Doubtless, Vasiṣṭha is the freshly appointed officiating priest at the horse-sacrifice which is closely associated with the said war.

21. Leaving the sacrifice of one Pāśadyumna Vāyāla (RV 7. 33. 2).

22. *Nirukta*, I. 8 (Ed. V. K. Rajwade, Poona, 1940, pp. 22-23); *Kaushitaki Br.*, 23. 2.



## ANAPTYXIS IN PĀLI\*

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Anaptyxis or vowel-insertion plays an important part in the formation of many Pāli words. It consists usually in the insertion of a vowel in the middle of a word in order to avoid a difficult combination of consonants. It is an old phenomenon found in Old Greek (*teropon* for *terpon*), Latin (*pocolom* for *\*poclom*), Avesta (*gharma* > *garðmō*) etc. In the Veda when a conjunct follows *r* or a nasal, a short vowel tends to develop between them. The evidence of the metre also shows that an additional syllable is frequently required in words in which *r* either precedes or follows another consonant; cf. *Indra* very often read as trisyllabic. It is difficult to lay down with any degree of certainty the precise rule or rules in the occurrence of anaptyxis. There are, however, certain tendencies inherent in the formation of words themselves. Usually, *r+h* insert *a* (*garhā* > *garahā*), *l* in combination with certain consonants generally insert *i* (*śloka* > *siloka*), and *r* followed by *y* gives rise to *i* (*cariya* > *cariyā*). In the neighbourhood of labials, *u* generally appears (*padma* > *paduma*).

Geiger (*Pāli Grammar*, § 29) says that the consonant group containing *r*, *l*, *y*, *v* or a nasal is separated by a *svarabhakti* vowel. An exception to this is provided by the example of *kaṣaṭa* 'bad' (Jc. 11.96); cf. Pāli. *kaṣaṭa*. That the phenomenon of anaptyxis is of late origin in Pāli is attested by the Pāli commentators. In *Jātaka* III. 152, *tikkho* is replaced by the commentator by *trikkhina* 'sharp', Skt. *tikṣṇa*.

In the treatment of conjuncts in the domain of Middle Indo-Aryan, assimilation is the normal practice but there are cases where instead of an assimilation, anaptyxis follows, particularly when a fricative and an occlusive meet each other. In groups like *r+h* (*tarhi* > *tarahī*) or *r+y* (*bharyā* > *bharyiā*) (where assimilation is difficult), anaptyxis is the rule. Instances of anaptyxis and assimilation in the same word are not rare. Cf. *sināna* and *nahāna*, Skt.

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*snāna*. A triple consonant is sometimes separated by means of anaptyxis, *hammiya* (*Vin.* I. 58), 'large building', *Ved. harmya*; *dosinā* (*J* I. 509), *Skt. jyotsnā*. Cf. also *junha* (*J* I. 165), 'moonlight'; *sukhuma* (*Vin.* I. 14), 'subtle', *Ep. Skt. sūkṣma*. What would be the nature of an anaptyic vowel is difficult to determine. The Śikṣās give the three vowels *a, i, u* and, even, *e*.

#### ANAPTYXIS WITH -i

Of all the inserted vowels, 'i' is the most frequent. It is found mostly in the group *r+y*. In other combinations (*j, r, ś, ṣ, s, h+y*), also *i* is noticed. In consonantal groups with liquids (*k, h, j+r; k, g, ś, h, m+l*) and nasals (*g, k, ṣ, h, s+n*), also *i* prevails. In other combinations (*s+y* etc), *i* is, at times, the result.

##### *r+y>i*

*acchariyā* (*M* III. 118), 'wonderful', *Skt. āścarya*; *ariya* (*D* II. 87), 'Aryan', (racial), *Skt. ārya*; *kadariya* (*J* V. 273), 'miserly', *Skt. caryā*; *tiriyam* (*J* I. 96), 'obliquely, transversely', *Skt. tiryāñc*; *pariyesanā* (*M* I. 161), 'search', *Skt. paryeṣanā*; *pariyāya* (*D* I. 179), 'arrangement', *Skt. paryāya*; *pariyanta* (*J* I. 149), 'end, limit', *Skt. paryanta*; *brahmacariya* (*Vin.* I. 12), 'vow of celibacy', *Skt. brahmacarya*; *bhariyā* (*J* III. 511) 'a wife', *Skt. bhāryā*; *viriya* (*J* I. 178), 'the state of a man, i.e., vigour', *Skt. vīrya*; *veluriya* (*Vin.* II. 112), 'a precious stone, the lapis lazuli', *vaidūrya*; *suriya* (*J* II. 73), 'the sun', *Skt. sūrya*; *iriyā* (*M* I. 81), 'posture', *Skt. iriyā*; *mariyāda* (*J* V. 325), 'boundary, limit', *Skt. maryādā*.

##### *ś+y>i*

*vesiyāna* (*J* VI. 15), 'a Vaiśya', *Skt. Vaiśya*; cf. *vessaya* (*Sn.* 455).

##### *h+y>i*

*bahiya* (*J* I. 421), 'foreign', *Skt. bahya*, cf. *bahira* (*D* II. 75); *hiyyo* (*J* I. 70), 'yesterday', *Skt. hyas*.

##### *k+r>i*

*kiriya* (*Sn.* 694), 'action', *Skt. kriyā*.

##### *k+l>i*

*kilama* (*J* V. 397), 'fatigue', *Skt. klama*; *kilinna* (*J* I. 61) 'wet, usually with saliva and perspiration', *Skt. klinna*; *kilomaka* (*J* IV. 292), 'the right lung', *Skt. kloman*; *kilamati* (*J* I. 115), 'to be tired', *Skt. klamati*; *kilissati* (*It* 76), 'to get wet, soiled', *Skt. kliṣyati*; *kilesa* (*Sn.* 348), 'stain, soil', *Skt. kleśa*; *nikkilesa* (*Nd.* I. 340), 'freedom from



moral blemish', Skt. *niṣ + kleśa* ; *parikileśa* (Th.A 241), 'misery, calamity', Skt. *pari + kleśa*.

**g+n>i**

*gini* (Sn. 18), 'fire', Skt. *agni* ; *aggini* (Sn. 668), 'pyre', Skt. *agni*.

**g+l>i**

*gilāno* (J I.150), 'sick', Skt. *glāno*.

**p+l>i**

*pilakkha* (Vin. IV 35), 'the wave-leaved figure, *Ficus Infectoria*', Skt. *plakṣa* ; *pilava* (J V. 420), 'a kind of duck', Skt. *plava*.

**p+r>i**

*piyāla* (J V. 415), 'the Priyāla tree', Skt. *priyāla*,

**s+l>i**

*siloka* (J IV. 233), 'fame', Skt. *śloka* ; *śilesuma* (PV II. 2), 'phlegm', Skt. *śleṣman* ; *silittha* (J III. 154), 'adhering, connected', Skt. *śliṣṭa* ; *silesa* (J V. 445), 'junction, embrace', Skt. *śliṣ-*.

**h+r>i**

*hiri* (J I. 129), 'shame', Skt. *hrī* ; *ahirika* (Sn. 133), 'shameless', Skt. *ahrika* ; *hariyati* (M III. 148), 'is carried', Skt. *hriyate*.

**ṣ+ṇ>i**

*tikhina* (J V. 264), 'sharp, pointed', Skt. *tikṣṇa*, *trṣṇā* ; *kasina* (J IV. 111), 'entire, whole' Skt. *kṛtsna*.

**m+l>i**

*milakkha* (J. VI. 207), 'a barbarian', Skt. *mleccha* ; *milakhu* (Jh. I. 965), 'a non-Aryan'. Pkt. *milakkha*, Skt. *ml.* ; *milāca* (J IV. 291), 'a wild man of the woods', cf. Skt. *ml.* ; *milāyati* (J I.329), 'to languish, to fade', Skt. *mlāyati* ; *milapeti* (J I. 340), Skt. *mlāpāyati*.

**j+y>i**

*jiyā* (J II.88), 'a bow-string', Skt. *jyā* ; *bhājiyati* (Ud. 48), 'is divided', Skt. *bhājyate*.

**j+r>i**

*vajira* (Dh. 161), 'diamond', A. Mg. *vair a*, Skt. *vajra*.

**s+n>i**

*sineha* (J I. 108), 'viscous liquid', Skt. *sneha* ; *sināna* (M I. 39), 'bathing', Skt. *snāna* ; *siniddho* (J I. 463), 'wet, moist', Skt. *snigdha* ; *siniyhati* (Vism. 317), 'to feel love', Skt. *snihyate* ; *sinehaka* (Mhvs. 26), 'a friend', Skt. *sneha* ; *sinehana* (Miln. 229), 'oiling', Skt. *sneha*.



## ANAPTYXIS WITH -a

Anaptyxis with -a is very rare. It occurs mostly in words having a preceding and following.

**t+n>a**

*ratana* (J II. 112), 'the jewel', Skt. *ratna*.

**r+h>a**

*garaha* (Sn. 141), 'blame, fault', Skt. *garhā*; *garahati* (S I.240) 'to blame', Skt. *garhati*; *etarahi* (J I. 215), 'now, at present', Skt. *etarhi*; *carahi* (Sn. 990), 'then, therefore', Skt. *tarhi*; *tarahi* (Vin. II. 1<sup>9</sup>), 'then, at that time', Skt. *tarhi*; *araha* (Dh. 195), 'worthy of', Skt. *arha*; *arahati* (Sn. 431), 'to deserve', Skt. *arhati*; *antarahita* (M I.487), 'disappeared, gone', Skt. *antarhita*.

**h+r>a**

*rahada* (D I.50), 'a lake', Skt. *hrada*.

## ANAPTYXIS WITH -u

Anaptyxis with -u generally follows and precedes labials.

**k+m>u**

*pakhuma* (J V. 216), 'an eyelash', Skt. *pakṣman*; *sukhuma* (Vin. I. 14) 'subtle, minute', Skt. *sūkṣma*.

**d+m>u**

*kuḍumala* (A IV.117), 'an opening bud', Skt. *kuḍmalam*.

**d+m>u**

*paduma* (Dh. 458), 'lotus', Skt. *padma*.

**dh+m>u**

*idhuma* (Telakaṭāha, JPTS, 1884, p. 53), 'fire-wood', Skt. *idhma*.

**P+n>u**

*pāpunāti* (J VI. 149), 'attains', Skt. *prāpnoti*.

**l+v>u**

*beluva* (J IV. 363), 'the bilva tree', Skt. \**bailva*

**ś+v>u**

*suve* (Mhvs. 29), 'tomorrow', Skt. *śvas*; *śuvānam* (M III. 91) 'a dog', Skt. *śvana*.



ś+m&gt;u

*susāna* (*Vin.* I. 15), 'cemetery', Skt. *śmaśāna* ; *susānaka* (*Mhvs.* 10), 'employed in a cemetery', Skt. *śmaśānakam*.

s+m&gt;u

*sumarati* (*Dh.* 324) 'remembers', Skt. *smarati*.

ṣ+m&gt;u

*usumā* (*J* I. 31), 'heat', Skt. *uṣman* ; *pakhuma* (*J* V. 216), 'an eyelash', Skt. *pakṣman*.

t+m&gt;u

*vaṭuma* (*J* III. 412), 'a road', Skt. *vartman* ; *ātuman* (*Nd.* I. 69), 'self', Skt. *ātman*.

d+v&gt;u

*dutiya* (*J* II. 162), 'second', Skt. *dvitiya* ; *duvija* (*S* V. 156), 'two', Skt. *dvija* ; *tuvaṭṭeti* (*Vin.* II. 10), 'to share', Skt. \**dvandvayati* ; *tuvantuva* (*M* I. 110), 'quarrel', Skt. *dvanda*.

ṭ+v&gt;u

*laṭukika* (*J* III. 44), 'a quail', Skt. *laṭvaka*.

t+v&gt;u

*tuvaṃ* (*Sn.* 179), 'you', Skt. *tvam* ; *tuvaṭam* (*J* I. 91), 'quickly', Skt. *tvaritam*.



## ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE PRAKṚT VOCABLE PORA

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Richard Pischel has cited in his work on Prakṛt Grammar a large number of words to illustrate the phenomenon of *Epenthesis* in Prakṛt, most of which show that the vowel *i* occurring in a syllable has been anticipated in the preceding one, but, that while this anticipation happens, the original vowel is invariably lost,<sup>1</sup> though the suppression of this vowel is not a common phenomenon in ordinary circumstances. The words *acchera*, *peranta*, *bamhacera*, *merā* etc. bear evidence to this phenomenon which becomes all the more clear when, by analysis, it is shown that the vowel *e* in the said words is the result of the contraction of the contiguous vowels *a+i*, of which the latter is epenthetic. In other words, the immediate predecessors of the cited words are \**acchāira*, *paīranta*, *bamhacāira*, and *māira*, respectively, where the vowel *i* that develops by epenthesis combines with the preceding vowel *a* and develops into *e* which one notes in the cited words.

So far as the epenthesis of the vowel *u* is concerned, Pischel has given only a single instance, viz., *pora* from AMg. Prakṛt.<sup>2</sup> *Pora* comes from Skt. *parvan* which, according to Pischel's surmise, develops into \**paurva* by way of epenthesis, prior to its manifestation as *pora*. Here, the epenthetic vowel *u* comes not because of the same vowel *u* occurring in the following syllable, but due to the semi-vowel *v* which is also capable of calling forth an epenthetic vowel and is responsible

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I. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* (Strassburg, 1900), § 176. In epenthesis the original vowel, which causes the sprouting of a vowel in the preceding syllable, ordinarily remains. This can be best shown from Avestan where epenthesis is a very common phenomenon. Epenthetic *i*: Av. *aipi*=Skt. *api*, Av. *buiṛi*=Skt. *bhūri*, Av. *aibī*=Skt. *abhi*, Av. *airyo*=Skt. *aryas*. Epenthetic *u*: Av. *auruṇa*=Skt. *aruṇa*, Av. *paurvata*=Skt. *parvata*. Vide A. V. W. Jackson, *Avestan Grammar*, § 70. The loss of the original vowel or semi-vowel after the sprouting of the epenthetic vowel in the preceding syllable is to be noted in Greek; e.g., *baino*<*banjō*, *phaino*<*phanjo* etc., vide J Wright, *Greek Grammar*, § 75.

2. "Epenthese des *u* liegt vor in AMg. *pora*=*parvan* aus *paurvā*." Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 176.



for the origin of this *u*, which \**paurva-* shows in the course of its manifestation from Skt. *parvan*.

Some more words can be traced in Ardhamāgadhī which are connected with *pora* and, so, are expected to bear evidence, if Pischel's etymology is correct, to the same line of development. Such are *pora-bīya* (< *parva-vīja*), *poraga* (< *parvaka*) 'a kind of tree', *poraya* (< \**parvaka*) 'field', *poraccha* (< \**parvastha*) 'wicked', *porattha* (< \**parvastha*) 'jealous, inimical' etc.<sup>3</sup> Now, it should be noted that Pischel has not accounted for the development of sounds in the following syllable, particularly the development of the conjunct *rv* into *r*, which Pkt. *pora* must have evinced, if his etymology were correct.

Pischel's views on the development of epenthesis in Skt. *parvan*, as a result of which it is argued to develop into *pora* in Prākṛt, do not seem to be acceptable, though his assumption, no doubt, helps us to indicate the development of the vowel *o* in *pora*, where the vowel *a* of the first syllable of *parvan* when combined with the immediately following *u*, the product of epenthesis, could quite easily manifest itself as *o*.<sup>4</sup> But, such a surmise would compel one to assume the development of the conjunct *rv* into *r* in Prākṛt, which is not readily possible, for this kind of development is not found in Prākṛt. Neither has it been suggested by grammarians. Pischel himself does not suggest it anywhere in his *Grammatik*; he speaks only of the change of *rv* into *vv*, which is the normal product of transformation of the Sanskrit nexus.<sup>5</sup> This being a great hurdle, one cannot accept Pischel's explanation, which also means that it is extremely doubtful whether the 'Sanskrit' word *parvan* could ever submit to the working of epenthesis.

It is possible to deny, almost categorically, the possibility of the occurrence of transformation of conjunct *rv* into *r* in Prākṛt. In an earlier paper the present writer has established that the liquid *r* is the weakest among the consonants.<sup>6</sup> So, any conjunct, constituted of *r* and any other consonant, while in course of transformation in Prākṛt, has shown the assimilation of the same, i.e., *r* to the following. In fact, the sound *r* standing in any position of the conjunct (i.e., either

3. All these words appear in the *Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo* by Hargovind Das Sheth, (2nd edn., Varanasi, 1963), p. 618.

4. *Vide*, Pischel, *ibid.*, § 157.

5. *Ibid.*, § 287.

6. 'The development of the Sanskrit conjunct-consonant *rv* in Prākṛt', *JOI* 14 (1964-65) 440-70.



as the first or the second consonant of the nexus), has yielded to the consonant with which it has formed the ligature. There are, of course, one or two solitary instances where *r* has not been assimilated to its contiguous consonant. But, in these cases, it has to be noted that *r* has not been able to maintain its identity, but, on the contrary, has itself been transformed into the *l* sound. In the Sanskrit words *parāṇa*, *parāsta* and *saukumārya*, *r* has not been assimilated to the following semi-vowel *y* to yield forms like *payyāṇa*, *payyattha* and *soamayya*, while this has happened in Prakṛt. Thus, the sound *r* has assimilated the following semi-vowel *y*, but has done so only when, in Prakṛt, it had lost its identity and had itself been transformed into the *l* sound, giving rise to the forms *pallāṇa*, *pallattha* (also *palhattha*) and *soamalla*<sup>7</sup>.

In view of the above, we may assert that, in Prakṛt, there is no possibility of *r* developing into *rv*. In other words, *parvan*, the vocable under study, cannot develop into *pōra* through the intermediate stage of *paurva* as suggested by Pischel. This would mean that Pischel's explanation of *pōra*, and his assumption about the occurrence of epenthetic *u* in *parvan* cannot be held as conforming to facts.

On this background, it is worth while examining whether any linguistic process could be suggested for the development of *pōra* from *parvan*, which will not contradict any of the accepted principles of sound-change in Prakṛt. Now, Anaptyxis may be presumed to have been at work in this development, through which *parvan* will become *\*paruva* at the initial stage. Though the vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are all equally competent to be inserted between the two members of the conjunct, *u* is specially suited, being a labial.<sup>8</sup> Then, by the process of metathesis *\*paruva* develops into *\*pavura*<sup>9</sup> which develops

7. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 285.

8. *Ibid.*, § 139.

9. It may be necessary, here, to ascertain whether metathesis could affect consonants which have immediately before submitted to the influence of anaptyxis. In Pali, the Sanskrit word *parāsta* becomes *payiratta*, and likewise, *parāyupāsati* and *parāyudāhārṣu* become *payirupāsati* and *payirudāhāṃsus*, respectively. (See Vidhusekhara Sastri, *Pali Prakāśa*, p. 12, fn. 5). Here, the Sanskrit conjunct *ry* has been split first by the insertion of the vowel *i* between *r* and *y* in all the cases and then the same consonants *r* and *y*, which have become constituents of separate syllables, have interchanged their positions. In other words, here, metathesis has shown its effect immediately after the operation of anaptyxis. Geiger has noted this phenomenon and specifically mentioned the two phonetic tendencies which have brought about the formation of the words. (Cf. Geiger, *Pali Literature and Language*, § 65, l. 472).

(Contd.)



into \**paūra* with the disintegration of the consonantal element, since it is subject to this change in conformity with the principles of sound-change in *Prākṛt*. The form \**paūra*, then, by contraction develops into *pora*.

The words connected with *pora* may, now, be considered. *Pora-bīya* and *poraga*, which come from Skt. *parva-vīja* and *parvaka*, respectively, indicate 'a tree' and are admitted by the lexicon as to have been connected with *parvan*. The lexicons give a word *poraya* meaning *kṣetra*, 'field', about whose origin there is no mention. This may be taken to be derived from the word *parvaga* meaning 'one which is subject to division'. The identification is not incompetent if they are taken to refer to paddy-fields belonging to different people and divided into bits by low mud partitions. *Poraccha* and *porattha*, meaning 'wicked persons' (*durjana*, *khala*) and 'envious people' (*matsarī*, *īṣyālu*, *dveṣī*), respectively, are given in the lexicons without any indication of their derivation. Both these words descend from Skt. *parvastha*. *Parvan* means also 'a period, a fixed time, a festival, an occasion, a moment, an instant', etc. So, any person, who appears on some occasion, alone, and, that too, for a moment, is a *parvastha* and, since such appearance is considered inauspicious such a person is assumed to be wicked; hence, *parvastha* means 'wicked'. As wicked persons are jealous, the word refers to 'envious persons'. Thus, Skt. *parvastha* quite normally gives rise to Pkt. *porattha*. *Poraccha*, of identical origin, is perhaps, a product of transcriptional inaccuracy, for the conjunct-letter *tth* is often confused for *cch* in writing.

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The phenomenon is observed not only in Pāli but also in *Prākṛt*. Cf. *dirgha* which, at first, by anaptyxis, becomes *diragha* and then, by metathesis, *dīghara*, and develops ultimately into *dīhara*, and *hrasva* which has developed into *rahassa* in *Prākṛt* through the intermediate stage *harassa*. Pischel, too, has noticed the development of these two forms. (Ib. § 354).



## BHUVANĀ-

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In another publication I had the opportunity, to argue, at some length the well-known question of the apparent multiplicity of meanings and connotations ascribed in our dictionaries to many Sanskrit words.<sup>1</sup> Therein, I arrived at the conclusion that in many cases this so-called polysemy is likely to be illusory, because our modern languages do not furnish us with the means of rendering by one single term an 'idea' or 'concept' which was characteristic of the ancient Indian culture, or which, speaking more generally, was closely connected with lines of thought which are, for centuries, no longer ours. In translating—and especially in translating texts—reflecting the views on the world or life of ancient peoples, we should be constantly aware of the many differences in the entire range of culture between the two milieus to which the languages from, and into, which we are translating, belong. Languages are, indeed, not only devices for communicating facts or reporting experience; they are also ways of defining, analyzing and categorizing experience, of organizing through their structural semantic systems the world of experience in which their speakers live, and of creating, so to say, an intermediate world between the objective world and the speakers.<sup>2</sup> Vocabulary being a way in which a community classifies the sum total of its experiences, the senses of the words, being largely a result of that classification, are therefore to a considerable extent culturally and traditionally determined, varying from culture to culture. Hence the difficulty, and in many cases, the impossibility of finding exact translations of terms relating to ancient Indian religion and view of the world. Our lexicographers have to cope

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1. J. Gonda, 'Some notes on the study of ancient Indian religious terminology', *History of Religions*, I, (Chicago, 1962), pp. 243 ff.

2. One might, for instance, consult E. Sapir, *Selected writings*, (Los Angeles, 1949), pp. 160 ff., 389 ff.; B. L. Whorf, *Four articles on metalinguistics*, (Washington, D. C., 1949); H. Hoiyer, 'The relation of language to culture', *Anthropology Today*, ed. A. L. Kroeber, (Chicago, 1953), pp. 554 ff.; L. Weisgerber, *Vom Weltbild der deutschen Sprache*, (Düsseldorf, 1950).



with this difficulty by providing a number of equivalents for aspects of a Sanskrit word which, as such, is untranslatable. In doing so they create, while placing their 'partial translations' in a certain order, the impression of semantic developments. In attempting to transpose aspects of the ancient concepts into our categories—i.e. into the categories for which our languages have words—they often overlook the fact that they are not establishing cases of semantic change or differentiation but describing logical or psychological relations between these categories, or enumerating contextual variants of an ancient term. Other scholars however prefer to ignore the difficulty and, so, adopt what they believe to be *passe-partout* translations. Thus, according to Lüders<sup>3</sup> *ṛta-* always means 'truth', according to H. P. Schmidt<sup>4</sup> *vrata-* is 'vow'. The result is either a misapplication of our modern terms or an imperfect understanding of the Sanskrit term and the ancient Indian concept, or both.

This difficulty is complicated by the fact that besides many important terms for which we have no exact equivalents, there are in Sanskrit numerous words which at first sight impress us as being in a greater or less degree, synonyms. Now, if we describe only those words as synonymous which can replace one another in any given context, without the slightest alteration either in cognitive or in emotive import, "it is almost a truism that total synonymy is an extremely rare occurrence."<sup>5</sup> Most so-called synonyms are homoionyms (pseudo-synonyms) and these are either coextensive in sense and inter-changeable in some contexts but not in others (compare, in English: *help-aid-assistance*) or co-extensive and interchangeable from the cognitive but not from the emotive and evocatory angle (cf., e.g., *liberty-freedom*). The relation between pseudo-synonyms may, moreover, be subject to change in course of time. In many cases, however, we had better avoid even the term pseudo-synonyms, because a close examination of the meanings of two or more words which in ancient (Indian) or modern dictionaries or commentaries are traditionally, or for convenience, regarded as interchangeable, actually have, or had in the early texts, too little in common to be called pseudo-synonyms.

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3. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, (Göttingen, 1951-59), *passim*.

4. H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch 'vrata-' und awestisch 'urvrata-'*, (Hamburg, 1958)

5. S. Ullmann, *The principle of Semantics*, (Glasgow 1951), p. 108.



As a case in point, attention may be drawn to a group of words commonly translated by 'world'. According to V. S. Apte's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*,<sup>6</sup> the word *viśvaṃ*, *jagat*, *bhuvanam*, *lokaḥ*, *carācaram*, *triviṣṭapam*, *brahmāṇḍam* are equivalent to the English 'world' (in the sense of 'universe'). On closer inspection, however, it appears that these terms cannot—even if one would disregard their emotive and evocatory connotations—be simply substituted, one for the other, in all contexts. Whatever be the opinion of lexicographers, *loka-*, *bhuvana-* and *jagat-* have, each of them, their own meaning and their own connotations. These meanings may have been vague for the Vedic man himself—vagueness of the sense is, though variable, an inherent feature of sense in general, because it is a consequence of the process of abstraction by which our 'concepts' are evolved<sup>7</sup>—, and for us beyond perfect definition, so much is clear that each word had, generally speaking, its own field of applicability and that a thorough and methodical examination of the relevant text-places may guide us to a better, though approximate, understanding of these terms.

This brings me to the last of this series of introductory remarks. The study of each of these terms which, though different in sense, supplement each other or view the universe or its provinces from different angles, does not form, from a linguistic point of view, a whole in itself. The existence, in linguistic reality, of more or less coherent groups of lexical entities, of more or less "closely knit and articulated parts" of the total vocabulary of a language in which the significance of each unit is determined by its neighbours cannot be denied. The semantic areas of these words reciprocally limit one another, dividing up and covering the whole sphere or 'semantic field' between them.<sup>8</sup> That means that in instituting a semantic investigation with regard to one unit, one should not neglect to examine the meanings of its neighbours. In short, one should inquire

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6. V. S. Apte, *The Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, (Bombay, 1920), p. 498.

7. Ullmann, *op. cit.*, p. 93, who remarks, *inter alia*; "even the reference called up by proper names is a mere 'schema': what we think of when we hear the name 'Napoleon' is a telescoping of the artillery officer at Toulon, the victor of Austerlitz, the exile of Saint Helena, and so on".

8. I refer to Ullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.; J. Trier, 'Das sprachliche Feld', *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 10 (1934) 428 ff.



into the whole 'semantic field' to which the term belongs.<sup>9</sup> That is why, in continuation of a study of the meaning of the term *loka-* in the Veda,<sup>10</sup> which for practical reasons could not include a discussion of other words, I publish in this article, as briefly as possible, the results of the examination of the meaning of *bhuvana-* in the Veda, reserving other words of this group for consideration in other articles.

The difference between *loka-* which, generally speaking, is a variant in the comparative study of religions of the well-known 'resting-place in universal extensity', a recognized 'position' to which man aspires (e.g., by ritual means), a sphere of safety or contact with power, a special level of existence,<sup>11</sup> and *bhuvana-* is clear in places such as TB 3, 12, 3, 2, where the goddess Śraddhā is implored to give a sphere of existence which is beyond the power of death (*lokam amṛtam*), being a mistress and a ruler of the world (*bhuvanasyādhipatnī*); "that is why", the commentary adds, "she is able to give the man who prays a *loka-*", i.e., a sphere of existence with a specific value, which often has no material existence in the phenomenal world. In TB 2, 8, 8, 4 all beings (*viśvā bhuvanāni*; *sarvalokanivāsina ete prāṇinaḥ*, comm.) are said to have been placed or fixed upon Speech (*Vāc*), who in § 5 is implored to place those speaking in the sphere of ritual and religious merit (*sukṛtasya loke*; *karmanāḥ phalabhūte*, comm.). Compare also TB 3, 1, 1, 7 and JUB 3, 17, 6 ff. enumerating *bhuvanādi, lokāḥ. diśaś catasraḥ*. In TB 3, 7, 6, 14 the man who wishes the sacrificer ill is cursed to be "driven away from the world" (*āpa tām indrāgnī bhūvanān nudetam*); this must mean that he will be deprived of physical existence. To be deprived of one's *loka* is another thing: PB 6, 7, 21 f., "He should chant after putting down the bunch of grass (on the ground), to prevent the sacrificial substance from being spilt. But (in doing so) he holds the sacrificer away from the 'world of heaven' (*svargal*

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9. One should moreover keep in mind that this situation—that is, in general, the interrelation of a group of semantically related terms, the structure of a semantic field, is not constant. It is subject to change, because the meanings of its components will, in the course of time, change with the result that the lines of demarcation between semantic neighbours will also change in one respect or another.

10. J. Gonda, 'Loka, world and heaven in the Veda,' to be published in the *Transactions of the Royal Dutch Academy*, Amsterdam.

11. See, e.g., G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, (London, 1938), ch. 57.



lokāt)" ; 7, 3, 24, "if it were..., he would expel the sacrificer from 'the world of heaven'."

The terms *bhuvana-* and *loka-* may, for instance, in connection with the sun which moves in this universe, apply to the same concept, for instance ŚB 14, 1, 4, 10 explaining VS 37, 17, *āvarivarti bhūvaneṣu* (places of existence) *antaḥ* by *eṣu lokeṣu varivarty amānaś carati* (Uvaṭa observes: *bhuvaneṣu, triṣu lokeṣu*). This does not, however, mean that both terms necessarily evoked exactly the same thoughts and sentiments. Nor can it be contended that any word-group containing *bhuvana-* is synonymous with a corresponding phrase with *loka-*. When, for instance, ŚB 13, 1, 2, 3, reads *bhuvanam taj jayati-*, the author refers no doubt to political and military conquests—the *aśvamedha* (which means royal sway: 13, 1, 6, 3) being performed by a victorious king of uncontested authority; compare also TB 3, 8, 3, 5, "he obtains abundance or opulence (*bhūmānam*)"—rather than the sort of conquest denoted by the corresponding expression *lokam jayati* (cf. also 1, 2, 5, 1).<sup>12</sup>

Although *bhuvana-* is usually said to mean 'world', lexicographers differ with regard to particulars.<sup>13</sup> According to Monier-Williams, "being, living creature, man, mankind" have, for some reason or other, to precede "world, earth; place of being, abode;" according to Apte<sup>14</sup> the 'meanings' are "world, the earth, heaven, being, man..." Grassman<sup>15</sup> gave: "Wesen" (being, either living or lifeless); "world". Geldner's<sup>16</sup> translations lack consistency. In Whitney's *Atharvaveda*<sup>17</sup> the term is alternately translated by "being" (AV 5, 11, 4), "existence" (10, 8, 7; 11, 4, 22), "creation", "existing things" (4, 11, 2) etc. In Lakshman Sarup's translation of the *Nirukta*,<sup>18</sup> 7, 25, which in explanation of RV 10, 88, 1, *bhārmaṇe bhūvanāya devā dhārmanekām... aprathanta*, no doubt, incorrectly, has *bharanāya ca bhavanāya* (fur-

12. I refer to my publication on *loka-*, fn. 10, *supra*.

13. The following quotations are also to illustrate part of the above remarks.

14. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, ed. P. K. Gode and C. G. Karve (Poona, 1958), p. 1202.

15. H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, col. 941.

16. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, 3 vols., (Cambridge, Mass., 1951).

17. W. D. Whitney—Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-Veda Samhitā*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1905).

18. Delhi-Varanasi-Patna edition, 1962.



thering) *ca dhāraṇāya ca*,<sup>19</sup> these words are rendered by "(maintenance), existence (, and support)" ; in 10, 46 (RV 10, 114, 4) *bhuvana-* is said to mean "universe" ; the plural is translated by "worlds" (7, 29) ; "created beings" (10, 26). It is therefore, to a certain extent, intelligible that Lommel<sup>20</sup> concluded that it is so difficult to determine the wide *bhuvana-* concept that one might be tempted to render it etymologically and say it is the Greek *physis* which is, according to the context in which it occurs, translated, *inter alia*, by "natural form or constitution of a person or thing as the result of growth; the regular order of nature ; nature ; creation ; creature etc." "However, although both words have the root *bhu-* in common, the suffix of the Greek word (-*si-* from -*ti-*) has a connotation of its own (the idea conveyed by the root is realized as an actuality),<sup>21</sup> which may not be overlooked. The question with which we are confronted is, in a few words, this : What is the nuclear or central meaning of the term of which the 'meanings' appearing in translations or dictionaries are contextual variants ? That is, what is the definition of the Vedic concept for which the term *bhuvana-* was the symbol ?

Etymologically speaking, the term *bhúvana-* may have expressed, as a central or nuclear meaning, "the place of becoming," an idea which may include that of "place (or, persons) in which becoming (prospering, growing, being, existing) takes place, or has taken place". This is not widely different from the explications found in commentaries (e.g. on AV 18, 1, 17) : *bhavanty atra prāṇino 'prāṇināś ceti bhuvanam*, or (on AV 2, 1, 3) *bhavanti, sattam labhante utpadyante*. One might compare, e.g., *śáyana-* which does not only mean "the act of lying down or resting," but also "a couch, bed, sleeping-place" ; *deva-yajana-* "place of worship or offering" (cf. OPers. *a-yadana-* "place of worship" ; *vṛjána-* (incidentally *vṛjana-*) "enclosure, cleared or fenced place", esp. "sacrificial enclosure", but also "pasture or camping ground, settlement, town or village and its inhabitants" ; *dhúvana-* "place of execution" ; *sthāna-* "place of standing or staying, any place, locality, abode, site, house etc."<sup>22</sup> It may be observed that the verb *bhū-*, though expressing the general sense of "becoming,

19. The meaning no doubt is "in order to maintain and sustain the world" (double dative ; cf. RV 9, 83, 3).

20. H. Lommel, in the periodical *Numen* 2, (Leiden, 1955), p. 204.

21. J. Holt, *Les noms d'action en '-sis' (-tis)*, Thesis Aarhus, 1940 ; compare also G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- im Altindischen*, (Lund, 1940).

22. See, e.g., W. D. Whitney, *A Sanskrit Grammar*, (Leipzig, 1924), § 1150, sn. 1 ; J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, (Göttingen, 1954), p. 186.



springing, being" ("being not taken as inherent in a creature, but as being which is dependent on circumstances and is of a temporary nature").<sup>23</sup> is also used in connection with subjects which modern man would regard as inanimate, no hard-and-fast line being, in Vedic times, drawn between the living and the lifeless.<sup>24</sup> Thus it reads, *RV* 10, 110, 9; *VS* 29, 34 etc., that the god *Tvaṣṭar* framed Heaven and Earth, the Parents, with their forms and *bhūvanāni viśvā*, which here may, of course, include the living as well as the lifeless. Part of the phrases containing the term *bhuvana-* in the singular contributed no doubt to the prominence of the meaning "world" (i.e., the universe, and especially the earth, including its inhabitants): definite gods are called lords, herdsmen or kings of the *bhuvana-* (e.g., *RV* 10, 128, 7; 10, 17, 3; 9, 96, 10, etc.; cf. also 9, 86, 5; 28; 36; *SB* 3, 3, 4, 14; 5, 2, 1, 2; 9, 2, 3, 12; 9, 4, 1, 16).<sup>25</sup>

The relations to the root *bhu-*, *bhū-* have always been clear. For instance, in *Nirukta* 10, 46 the words *RV* 10, 114, 4, *sá idām viśvaṃ bhūvanam vi caṣṭe* are explained: *sa imāni sarvāni bhūtāny abhivipaśyati*, and *bhūtajātāni* "classes, various aggregates of existing entities, esp. of living being of any kind, but also of material entities"<sup>26</sup> and *bhūtagrāma-* "the host of beings, entities" are frequent explanations of *bhūvanāni* (e.g., *Sāyaṇa* on *RV* 1, 160, 2; comm. on *AV* 2, 34, 2; *Uvaṭa* and *Mahidhara* on *VS* 13, 18).

The etymological relation to *bhū-* and the meaning "place of existence" is quite evident in *SB* 1, 4, 1, 17 *kvāhaṃ bhavāni :: ata eva te prācinam bhūvanam* "where am I to abide?" ("what is to become of me?") :: "To the east of this river be thy abode" (Eggeling). In *VS* 13, 18; *SB* 7, 4, 2, 7 *Aditi* who is identified with *bhū-* "the earth as place and substance" and the likewise etymologically related *bhūmi-* "the earth as soil" is also said to support *viśva-* *bhuvana-* (*bhūtagrāma-*, *Uvaṭa* and *Mahidhara*).<sup>27</sup> The term is otherwise associated with a

23. Cf. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, col. 942.

24. I refer to my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 29.

25. The singular and the collective, so-called plural may occur in the same sentence: *RV* 6, 58, 2 where *Puṣan* is glorified, being *bhūvane viśve ārpitaḥ* and looking attentively at the *bhūvanā*.

26. A brief survey of the 'meanings' of *bhūta-* is given by F. Edgerton, in *The beginnings of Indian Philosophy*. (London, 1965), p. 342.—Cf., e.g., also *TB* 2, 4, 8, 5; 2, 5, 4, 5; 3, 7, 10, 4; 3, 7, 9, 9.

27. According to *VS* 9, 5; *SB* 5, 1, 4, 4, *idām viśvaṃ bhūvanam (bhūtajātām, Uvaṭa)* is settled on the earth: "all being" (Eggeling). The same explication (*bhūtajātāni* "sorts of beings") is given on *VS* 9, 24. Cf. also *VS* 11, 23; *SB* 6, 3, 3, 19.



derivative of *bhu-* in *RV* 10, 149, 3 *ámartasya bhúvanasya bhund* "with the abundance (aggregate) of ..."

In *AV* 4, 11, 1 *viśvam bhúvanam* is, no doubt, a comprehensive term comprising the tripartite universe and the six directions and their 'contents'; thus in 10, 7, 35 it is the whole of creation which has entered the *skambha-* or frame of the universe;<sup>28</sup> in 10, 8, 7 it is said to have been generated, in 13 this process is ascribed to Prajapati, the lord of creatures, who 19, 20, 3 is *bhúvanasya pátiḥ*; but 4, 26, 5 *viśvā bhúvanāni* "all beings" are said to be within heaven and earth (cf. 11, 2, 11), and 7, 87, 1. they are shaped by Rudra who entered the herbs and plants. The mystic or primeval cow which is one-footed, two-footed, four-footed, eight-footed etc. is called "a series (*pankti-*) of *bhúvana-* from which flow the oceans" (9, 10, 21; 13, 1, 42), i.e., of "a place of existence and creation."

For this frequent combination of *bhuvana-* with *viśva-*, the adjective for analytical and enumerative totality, as opposed to *sarva-* which refers to synthetical totality, completeness, wholeness and integrality, compare also *RV* 1, 73, 8, *viśvam bhúvanam* "all existence", followed by "heaven and earth (and) the intermediate space," cf. 5, 85, 3; 10, 125, 8; 1, 102, 8 and 9, 110, 9 (climax); 2, 27, 4, combining with "what moves and stands". It is large and wide (1, 108, 2), the whole of creation, the whole universe as far as the sun shines (1, 92, 4; 4, 14, 2; 7, 76, 1). However, in 10, 107, 8 it is the world with the exception of the heavens (*svaḥ*). In 1, 113, 4-6 (plur.); 1, 123, 2 (sing.) the expression applies to living beings which are said to wake up; protection against *viśva- bhuvana-* no doubt means against "all creatures (living in the world)" (1, 134, 5, cf. *Sāyaṇa*); cf. 1, 31, 2; 3, 46, 2; 10, 17, 1; 10, 37, 9.

Sometimes no clear distinction between animate and inanimate is made: 8, 97, 14 all *bhuvanāni* and heaven and earth tremble for fear; cf. 10, 27, 22. Cf. also 10, 82, 6 etc. In 1, 154, 4 the threefold earth and heavens are followed by *bhúvanāni viśvā*; 1, 64, 3, analyzes the idea in 'heavenly' and 'terrestrial'; in 1, 35, 5 this phrase obviously denotes an idea of wider compass than 'races of men'. For the plural see also *RV* 2, 3, 1; 2, 10, 4; 3, 55, 19; 3, 62, 9; 7, 13, 3; 8, 51, 4 etc.; *PB* 12, 13, 32. In places such as *VS* 9, 24 (cf. *TS* 1, 7, 10; *AV* 3, 20, 8) "the impulse of vigour spread over heaven, earth and all beings-in-the

28. See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, pp. 33, 181.



world (*viśva bhūvanāni*) as sovereign" the explication *sarvāni bhūtajātāni* (comm.) is no doubt adequate. See also *RV* 1, 108, 1 ; *VS* 4, 30, where Soma is described as "approaching" (or "pervading", Mahīdhara) all beings in the world ("all living creatures", Griffith). The words *RV* 2, 40, 5 *viśvāny anyā bhūvanā jānā* are explained by the comm. on *TB* 2, 8, 1, 6 as *somaḥ ... oṣadhivārā ... utpādayāmāsa* ; *JUB* 3, 4, 3, 6; 7 *bhuvanādi sarvam* is on the other hand meant to indicate the whole universe.

That *bhuvana-* may also refer to the "inhabitants of creation", i.e., to the "living creatures, mankind, or man", is, on the one hand, a corollary of the absence of a hard-and-fast boundary between the living and the lifeless and, on the other hand, a semantic phenomenon of the same type as the use of the English *room* in the sense of 'people in a room'; of *house* in 'the House was excited by the news'; the French *le monde* 'world ; people' (from Lat. *mundus* "the world, universe, the inhabitants of the earth, mankind") is in dialects also used for "a single individual."<sup>29</sup> Comparable Sanskrit examples are : *grāma-* "an inhabited place ; the inhabitants of a place" ; *sārtha-* "caravan (travelling company of traders)", but *Mbh.* 3, 61, 117 "the people belonging to the caravan" : *tathoktā tena sārthena ... pratyuvāca ... janapada-* "the place, station, abode of men, people, subjects ; country, kingdom" and (sg. or plur.) "nation, people, subjects of a ruler" ; *vr̥jana-* (see above, cf., e.g., *RV* 10, 42, 10). Thus, this whole *bhuvanam* gathered after hearing the news that Tvaṣṭar's daughter is to be married (*RV* 10, 17, 1). Also, in connection with Prajāpati, "who rejoices in his offspring (*prajāyā*)", the phrase *bhūvanāni viśvā* may first and foremost refer to the living creatures.

Interestingly enough, the *gandharva* who, in all probability, was a genius concerned with conception and procreation and a guardian of the womb,<sup>30</sup> is in *AV* 2, 2, 1 and 2 described *bhūvanasya pātiḥ*. I venture to prefer a literal translation "lord of the place of becoming, of growth" to the commentator's *prthivyādilokasya vr̥ṣṭyādina poṣakaḥ*. As is well known, the term *pāti-* was used to indicate the personal aspects of divine powers manifesting themselves in a special field or sphere : *kṣetrapati-*, *āśapati-* etc.<sup>31</sup> However, the same phrase applies (cf. *AV* 13, 3, 7) to the ruddy one (the sun) considered

29. See E. Gamillscheg, *Französische Bedeutungslehre*, (Tübingen, 1951), p. 93, for other examples.

30. Compare *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 101.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 37.



the lord of the universal place of becoming (cf. 13, 1, 1 where the ruddy one is said to have generated this all) and *RV* 10, 128, 7 to a creator god who, according to Sāyaṇa—explaining *bhuvanasya* by *kr̥tsnasya bhūtajātasya*—is identical with Indra in the corresponding stanza *AV* 5, 3, 9 where Savitar seems to be meant. Modern commentators<sup>32</sup> have not dwelt on the phrase *bhuvanasya pati*—“lord of the field of creation” when used in connection with *Soma* (*RV* 9, 31, 6 ; 9, 97, 56; cf. 40) and explained by Sāyaṇa as *bhūtajātasya svamin-pālaka*-. In view of the general function of the god who is a king of plants and herbs, of the waters and of gods and men, the power which gives life to all beings and the vital element in them,<sup>33</sup> the probabilities are that the emphasis here also is on the live part of creation. *Soma* indeed is “the life-giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility, the fluid principle of continuity of life.....”, his realm “the whole cosmos viewed in the perspective of the cyclical recurrent process of growth, decay, new growth, in which process he manifests his royal power.”<sup>34</sup> Cf. *RV* 9, 86, 5, *viśvasya bhūvanasya rājasi* ; 28, 36, 37 ;<sup>35</sup> 46 ; 9, 86, 30 ; 9, 94, 3. The same divine power is (*RV* 9, 83, 3) said to bear the *bhuvanāni* which, in my opinion, is “the beings” (cf. Sāyaṇa) rather than “the worlds” (Geldner, Renou).

When the gods are said to rule *bhuvanasya* (*RV* 10, 63, 8) this means, no doubt, “the whole world”, as appears also from the addition *viśvasya sthātūr jāgataś ca māntavaḥ*, but the context does not prevent us from considering that this world is the field of the activity of the gods which is the cause of its growth and prosperity ; on the contrary, the gods are addressed as setting their hearts on (the well-being of) all that stands and moves and implored to protect those speaking.

It is in harmony with the etymological meaning of the term that it is frequently used in passages dealing with creation, disposition, arrangement or development of the world. Thus, Agni is stated in *RV* 3, 16, 4 to create *viśva bhūvana* (cf. *RV* 7, 5, 7) which, therefore, may

32. K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda*, III, (Cambridge, Mass., 1951) ; S. S. Bhawe, *The Soma-hymns of the R̥gveda*, II, (Baroda, 1960) ; L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VIII and IX, (Paris, 1961).

33. See, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 65.

34. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, (Thesis, Utrecht, 1957), p. 75.

35. H. Lommel, ‘König Soma’, *Numen*, 2 (Leiden, 1955), 196 ff.



be regarded as the place in which the creative energy of the god manifests itself ; 2, 23, 17 (*VS* 29, 9) the primeval fashioner *Tvaṣṭar*<sup>36</sup> (cf. 3, 55, 19) is said to have created *Bṛhaspati* out of all beings or creatures ; in *RV* 4, 42, 3 the same god has produced and urged on all beings and entities.<sup>37</sup> Compare also *RV* 2, 35, 2; 2, 40, 5 and 10, 45, 6, *viśvasya ketúr bhūvanasya gárbhaḥ* (*Agni*) ; *RV* 1, 164, 36, where even primeval beings (*ṛṣis* or *Angirases*) are engaged in distributing the seed of the 'world'. *Agni Vaiśvānara* places his germ (*garbham*) in the beings (*bhuvaneṣu* *RV* 3, 2, 10, cf. 10, 21, 8, where, in all probability, the plants are meant) ; *RV* 1, 157, 5 the *Aśvins* perform the same act with regard to the female animals (and) all beings, which are, here, places characterized by creation. Compare *RV* 7, 33, 7 where a three-fold divine power is said to bring its semen (*retah*) into the 'worlds' (*bhuvaneṣu*) which, according to *Sāyaṇa*, are heaven, earth and intermediate space : 10, 82, 3 (in connection with *Viśvakarman*, the creator) ; 10, 82, 6 (cf. 7, 101, 4) "the One on which *viśvāni bhūvanāni* (not only living beings, as is supposed by *Geldner*) are founded." Other places of interest are *RV* 1, 164, 13 ; 6, 70, 1 ; 7, 82, 5 ; 10, 72, 7 ; 10, 81, 1 ; 4, 10, 88, 2 ; 5 ; 12 ; 10, 110, 9 ; 10, 128, 7, *VS* 17, 99. Compare, e.g., also *TS* 3, 1, 4, 3 *bhūvanasya retah* "seed of being (existence)" ; 4, 7, 11, 2 *bhauvana-* "offspring of *bhuvana-*" and similar expressions. *TS* 4, 2, 9, 6 *ābhūd idāṃ viśvasya bhūvanasya vājinam* "there has come into being this abundance of generative power"<sup>38</sup> of all the world" ; *TS* 1, 7, 10, 1 *vājasyedāṃ prasavā* ("the instigation of generative power") *ā babhūve mā ca viśvā bhūvanāni sarvātaḥ* ; the world emanated by *Prajāpati*, all that the First Principle emanated is *bhuvanam* (*PB* 4, 1, 15 ; *sarvaṃ jagat*, comm. ; *JUB* 4, 22, 12 f.). The term is, however, applied also to the 'universe' consisting of the sun, the months, the seasons, the three *lokas* (*PB* 4, 6, 3). "Aditi (the earth, comm.), on which this universe of life has settled" is Griffith's<sup>39</sup> translation of *VS* 9, 5.....*yāsyām idāṃ viśvaṃ bhūvanam āvivēśa*. Cf. also 13, 18. There can be no doubt

36. See W. Norman Brown, 'The creation myth of the *Rig Veda*', *JOAS* 62 (1942) 85 ff.

37. Compare *Sāyaṇa* ; *Geldner's* interpretation seems less probable.

38. For *vājinam*, which, here, is substantivated, see J. Wackernagel—A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, (Göttingen, 1954), p. 350 ; for *vāja-* compare my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954, pp. 48 ff. ; R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, (Benares, 1927), p. 142 (*VS* 13, 39), translates the word by "energetic spirit".

39. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 85.



whatever that in the cosmogony of *RV* 10, 149, 3 the 'world of the gods' is meant; "afterwards (*i.e.*, after the earth etc.) the other (part of creation which is) worthy of worship came into existence with the multitude of 'the 'immortal' world (*āmartasya bhūvanasya bhūnā*), *i.e.*, "of the loka called heaven" (*Sāyana*). In connection with cosmological and other phenomenal events or situations, the *bhūvanāni viśva*, *RV* 1, 164, 13; 14, are said to stand or to have been placed on the wheel of the year.

In *AV* 2, 34, 2, which is to accompany the sacrifice of an animal the gods are requested to set free the semen (*retah*) of "that in which becoming takes place" (*bhūvanasya*) and to grant progress to the sacrificer. According to the commentary *retah* refers to the victim which is to be left by the gods and which, by means of the sacrificial ceremony, will be a cause of productiveness for the whole aggregate of beings.

Although "world, universe, creation" might be suitable translations, the connection of the *bhuvana*- concept with organic life and growth may also be inferred from places such as *TB* 1, 2, 1, 15 (*ĀpSS* 5, 8, 5) "O Jātavedas, pour here out the seed (*retah*) of creation which will arise from *tapas*.....". In *AV* 13, 1, 14 and 37 the poet intends to describe or proclaim the navel (*i.e.*, the place of origin) of the ruddy one (the sun) in the greatness (majesty: *majmdni*) of the *bhuvana*-. Since the ruddy one is in st. 1 said to have generated "this all" (*viśvam idām*, *i.e.*, the universe), and the gods are in st. 25 stated to have produced emanations (*cf.*, *e.g.*, also st. 52), and since, moreover, the 'birth' of the universe from its centre or navel is a well-known idea,<sup>40</sup> here also the connection with the etymological sense of *bhuvana*- seems clear. The prayer *AV* 12, 1, 31, *mā nī paptam bhūvane śiśriyānah* addressed to the Earth was, probably, to prevent the person speaking from losing his points of support in the 'world' of becoming and creation.<sup>41</sup> *AV* 18, 1, 17 water, wind and herbs are placed in one *bhuvanam*.

Not rarely, however, the term clearly applies to living beings or to the population of the world: In *RV* 5, 83, 4 rain refreshes "all the world" (*i.e.*, all beings); in 5, 40, 5 the *bhūvanāni* are able to perceive; in 6, 5, 2 they are produced by the earth; in 7, 5, 7 they are created or generated; in 4, 51, 5 *bhūvanāni* occurs together with "two-footed

40. M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane*, (New York, 1961), p. 44.

41. Not with H. Beckh, *Der Hymnus an die Erde*, (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 29: "... der ich so im Weltall fest verankert bin."



and four-footed beings, any living being" ; in 4, 53, 4 it is followed by *bhūvanasya prajābhyah* "for the creatures of the world" ; in 10, 82, 3 they come to put questions to Viśvakarman. In *RV* 2, 35, 8 the *bhuvanāni* and the plants are said to propagate themselves. However, the entities (water, milk etc.) with which the *soma* is moistened are, in all probability, meant in 9, 70, 1.

It is worthy of attention that these "creatures" are not necessarily human beings. In *RV* 4, 56, 3 the anonymous creator of heaven and earth is called an artist (*bhuvaneṣu*) ; in 1, 109, 6 the gods are included (Indra and Agni surpass all other *bh.*). In *RV* 1, 98, 2 (Agni lord of *bh.*) the plants also seem to be meant (*cf.* 2 ; 6, 12, 3 ;<sup>42</sup> 6, 5, 2 (the earth produces *v. bh.*) refers chiefly to plants and herbs.

One might take the singular, with *Sāyaṇa* (*bhūtajāta-*), in cases such as *RV* 10, 17, 3 where *Puṣan* is described as the herdsman of the *bhuvanam*, to refer primarily to the living creatures ; 6, 47, 3 (in both cases Geldner gives "world").

In a prayer addressed to some great gods to fill those speaking with the same stem (*soma*) upon which they feed themselves (*AV* 7, 81, 6) these gods are called *bhūvanasya gopāḥ* "herdsmen (protectors) of (the inhabitants of) the world". The very term "herdsman" evokes in the first place the image of a crowd of living beings which needs tending. The same phrase applies to the sun (*AV* 13, 2, 2), to *Puṣan* (*AV* 18, 2, 54=*RV* 10, 17, 3 ; *TS* 4, 6, 3, 3), to *Soma* and *Puṣan* (*RV* 2, 40, 1), to the Earth (*AV* 12, 1, 57), to Brahman (*PB* 25, 18, 5), to Indra and Agni (*TB* 3, 1, 1, 11), to Agni (*TS* 1, 5, 11, 2), to the *Viśve devāḥ* (*TB* 3, 10, 6, 1) ; to the stones for pressing out the *soma* (*TB* 3, 7, 9, 1 : *ĀpŚS* 12, 3, 2 where the commentary on *TB* improbably explains : *karmaniṣpādanena lokasya pālakaḥ*) ; *cf.* also *RV* 1, 164, 21 ; *JUB* 3, 2, 2 ; 11 ; *ChU* 4, 3, 6. In *ŚvU.* 4, 15 *bhuvanasya goptā* is followed and explained by "the lord of all things, hidden in all beings" (*cf.* 6, 17).

The term under examination may therefore indicate the whole aggregate of what has come, and is coming, into being. The word group *bhūvanāni rodasī* denotes heaven and earth and the world (and its inhabitants) between them ; in *RV* 3, 3, 10, Agni, just born, is said to have filled these. Hence the statement (1, 160, 2) that Father (the heaven) and Mother (the earth) protect the *bhuvanāni* ; *cf.* 1, 160, 3.

42. *Cf.* also K. F. Geldner—J. Nobel, *Der Rig-veda*, IV, (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), p. 15. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



In the 'hymns' *AV* 10, 7 and 10, 8, which exhibit some terminological similarities,<sup>43</sup> the phrase *bhuvanasya madhye* occur in st. 38 and 15 respectively in connection with *brahma* which here is considered a "marvellous phenomenon" (cf. *KenaU* 3, 2);<sup>44</sup> in this *brahma*, which on the waving primordial chaos (*salilāsya prṣṭhe*) makes effort (*kranta-* + loc.) for *tapas* (in order to start creation; cf. *RV* 10, 129, 3), rest, in the midst of 'the place of becoming'— "creation" (Whitney—Lanman)—, all the gods (divine powers) like the branches of a tree round about the trunk. Here, the universe, which *brahman*, as the cosmic tree, (cf. *KaU* 6, 1; *BhG* 15. 1 ff.) is to fill with creation, is aptly called the *bhuvana-*. The phrase *bhuvanasya madhye* means, according to the commentator on *TB* 2, 4, 5, 7 (cf. *MS* 4, 12, 6; *AV* 7, 110, 2) "everywhere" (*sarvatra*). The *hamsa* or highest self which destroys ignorance etc. is *ŚvU* 6, 15 said to be "in the midst of this world." According to *TS* 4, 2, 10, 2 "this ocean, the spring of a hundred streams, expanded in the middle of the world". —The sacrificial bed (*vedi-*) is quite intelligibly<sup>45</sup> in the middle of creation *TB* 1, 2, 1, 27; 3. 7, 6, 4: *ĀpŚS* 4, 5, 1 etc.). Sacrificial worship (*yajña-*) is *VS* 23, 62 stated to be *bhuvanasya nabhiḥ* because according to a śruti text (*ŚB* 1, 9, 2, 5) quoted by the commentaries creatures are born from it.<sup>46</sup> Compare *TB* 3, 9, 5, 5. In *TB* 2, 4, 8, 5 sacrifice is said to be the womb (*garbha-*) of creation (*bh.*).

An ample discussion of all Vedic occurrences would be a superfluity; yet, attention may be drawn to some other interesting places. The translation "world and its inhabitants" seems required in cases such as *RV* 2, 17, 4 where Indra is stated to grow greater or higher than *viśvā bhuvanā*, (the so-called plural form indicating the collective idea); 2, 34, 4 describing the Maruts as refreshing the world (*Sāyaṇa*'s explication *udakani* —cf. *Nirukta* 10, 34—is incorrect) See also 1, 92, 9; *TS* 5, 1, 11. 4. The concrete meaning "world" has, however, also a wide area of occurrence. Cf., e.g., *RV* 1. 164. 31; *VS* 37, 17 in connection with the sun or the vital breath,<sup>47</sup> which travels *bhúvaneṣv antāḥ*; *RV* 10, 81, 4; *TS* 4, 7, 13, 2. The word *bhuvana* is used to indicate the medium in which the lunar asterisms

43. L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et pāṇinéennes*, II, (Paris, 1956), p. 84.

44. P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, (Darmstadt, 1963), p. 204.

45. See M. Eliade, *The Myth of the Eternal Return*, (New York, 1954), pp. 10 ff.; Gonda, *The Savayajñas*, (Amsterdam acad.) p. 293.

46. Cf. S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice*, (Paris, 1898), pp. 81 f.

47. See Geldner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 233.



are moving and hastening (ĀV 19, 7, 1). In RV 4, 53, 2; KB 21, 4 *divo dhartā bhuvanasya prajāpatiḥ* 'sky' and *bhuvana-* obviously are complementary entities. In TS 4, 2, 11, 1 "all worlds" is complementary to mountains and streams: *prā sindhubhyaḥ prā giriḥbhyo mahitvā prēndrāgnī viśvā bhuvanāty anyā*, but in TS 5, 5, 9, 3 Rudra is said to be in the fire, in the waters, in the plants, and to have entered all beings (v. bh.) ; cf. also 1, 3, 14, 3.

At RV 3, 55, 10 c the meaning of the *viśvā bhuvanāni* known by Agni (as a witness) cannot be disconnected from that of *dhaman* in b which refers to Viṣṇu's manifestations or plural presence. The plural of the latter terms may have conditioned that of the former : anyhow, *bhuvana-* admits of a plural in another sense than "creatures". Cf. also 10, 82, 3.

The plural may, however, be due, also, to a tendency to emphasize the vastness of the world, e. g., RV 4, 16, 5. Indra filled the heaven and earth and surpassed 'all worlds' in greatness (pluralis extensivus) ; 8, 92, 6 ; 8, 100, 4 (or "beings" ?) ; 10, 125, 8. Compare also 10, 81, 4 (creation) ; 9, 84, 2 ; 9, 94, 2 "the fields of creation, the (entire) universe" ; 9, 86, 30.

In contradistinction to *yamaloka-* which is the sphere into which the deceased may be admitted, RV 1, 35, 6 uses in connection with the heaven known as Yama's world (*vitṛpater grhe*) the term *bhuvana-*.<sup>48</sup>

From passages such as JB 1, 105 we are justified in concluding that *bhuvana-* also was a comprehensive term to indicate what is often called the tripartite universe, the three *lokas* heaven, earth and intermediate space (together with the quarters of space) : *devasurāva eṣu lokeṣu aspardhantāsmiṁ bhuvane...*(*devaḥ*) *imāṁ lokān ājayan, imāṁ eva lokam...*, *antarikṣam...amum...*, *disaḥ*. From places such as RV 1, 143, 4 ; 1, 164, 34 it may indeed be inferred that the *bhuvana-* is larger than the earth ; cf. also 1, 185, 5 ; TB 3, 3, 9, 10 (ĀpŚS 2, 1, 3), from other texts, however, that it is the scene of the life-processes in nature and mankind. Rudra, the god of uncultivated nature,<sup>49</sup> is its ruler (2, 33, 9) and father (6, 49, 10) ; Indra, the god who established the cosmos and represents or wields the creative and inaugurative energy, its king (3, 46, 2 ; cf. 8, 37, 3) ; *soma*, the divine

48. See also Lüders, *Varuṇa*, (Göttingen, 1951-59), p. 60, whose interpretation remains uncertain.

49. See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 89.



vital juice, Prajāpati, the creator and lord of creatures, Savitar, "the creator of creators", or Dhātār, the generator and orderer of the world, its lords (RV 5, 51, 12 ; TS 3, 4, 8, 6 ; 4, 7, 14, 3 ; 3, 3, 11, 2), Dawn, whose light is blessing, its mistress (RV 7, 75, 4).

In commentaries etc. which were in need of 'synonyms' to explain all the words of a text, the differences between *bhuvana*- and other terms for "world" are not always observed. Thus, *bhuvana*- is explained by the commentator on PB 4, 1, 15 as *sarvaṃ jagat*. on 4, 6, 3, RV 1, 164, 36, TB 3, 7, 10, 6 as *lokaḥ* ; TB 3, 7, 6, 14 as *sarvalokaḥ* ; 3, 9, 5, 5 ; 3, 12, 9, 7 as *sarvo lokaḥ* and *sarvajagat* ; *viśvāni bhuvanā(ni)* is explained by Sāyaṇa on RV 2, 17, 4 ; TB 2, 7, 12, 2 as *sarvān lokān*, similarly 2, 8, 5, 5 ; *viśvaṃ bhuvanam*, TB 3, 7, 10, 2 as *sarvaṃ jagat* and RV 2, 40, 1 as *kṛtsnam jagat* ; *viśva bhuvanāni* by Mahidhara on VS 4, 30, as *lokān* ; *bhuvanam* alone TB 2, 8, 6, 7 as *goloka*- "cow-world" ; etc.



# A POSSIBLE LIGHT ON THE RELATIVE AGE OF YĀSKA AND PATAÑJALI\*

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C. It was probably Liebich who in 1891<sup>1</sup> first took exception to the current theory of the priority of Yāska to Pāṇini. Later, in 1919,<sup>2</sup> he seems to have abandoned the position he took earlier. But the suspicions were revived by Sköld in 1926,<sup>3</sup> by Thieme in 1936<sup>4</sup> and 1953<sup>5</sup> and very recently by Mehendale in 1965. Mehendale has devoted the very first of his Wilson Philological Lectures at the Bombay University, entirely to a discussion of this problem. It is not intended here to touch upon the details of these earlier discussions. However, much like what appears implied in the methods of the studies of Thieme and Mehendale, it is felt that the issue can be taken up with a study of the secular formations recorded by Yāska from the grammatical point of view. This fact incidentally came to the notice of the present writer during his study of the *Varitika-s* of Kātyāyana and the *Mahabhaṣya* of Patañjali from the point of view of the evolution of the formations in the usage following the period of Pāṇini. And, while the study that is presented here does not expect to build up a theory, it may serve to strengthen the suspicions as regards the theory of Yāska's priority to Pāṇini, and suggest the line along which the study can be developed with the prospect of obtaining interesting results.

1. In his section on the Primary Formations, Pāṇini by the rule *ato 'nupasarge kaḥ* (3. 2. 3), first enjoined the suffix *ka*

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1. Pāṇini, p. 19.

2. *Zur Einführung* etc., II, pp. 28 f.

3. *Papers on Pāṇini*, pp. 34, 35, 37, 40.

4. ZDMG, 89 (1935) 23-24.

5. His review of Renou's *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit*, published in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, no. 4649.



as deriving forms from any *a*-ending root not preceded by an *upasarga* but having a *karman* as the *upapada*. However, in the case of the *√sthā-*, he detected forms showing the same suffix attached to it although it was preceded by any *subanta*. So he formed the rule, *supi sthah* (3. 2. 4).

Now, as a general rule, all these forms carried the agent-sense according to *kartari kṛt* (3. 4. 67). But in addition to this (*ca*), Kātyāyana noted in his usage forms made out of the same units as mentioned by Pāṇini in *supi sthah* but carrying the action-sense as well. Hence he framed the *vārttika*, *supi stho bhāve ca* (3. 2. 4. 1), there. The actual examples supplied by Patañjali of this additional usage are : *akhūttha-*, 'the rising up of a rat or rats', *syenottha-*, 'the rising up of a falcon' and *śalabhottha-*, 'the rising up of a moth or grass-hopper'. In the case of the first, even a connected usage is supplied by Patañjali as *akhūttho vartate* (II. 93. 3).<sup>6</sup>

But, after this first *vārttika* on *supi sthah*, Kātyāyana tells us in the second *vārttika*, by way of an improved suggestion, that the need to derive the wanted forms could be served (*siddham*), without going in for a change in the wording of the rule of Pāṇini just by 'interpreting' the very rule, by resorting to the device of *yoga-vibhāga* (3. 2. 4. 2, *yogavibhagat siddham*). On splitting the rule of Pāṇini into *supi* and *sthah*, its second section, *sthah*, technically stood for (*supi*) *sthah* (*kaḥ*) (cf. Patj. II. 93. 3, *sthaś ca ko bhavati supi iti*), and yielded the desired forms in the action-sense that were not obtained earlier by the whole rule of Pāṇini in an unsplit form.<sup>7</sup>

2. However, while Kātyāyana's intention of obtaining the additional desired forms was met by this device of *yoga-vibhāga*, the

6. References to Patañjali are to the 3-volume edition of Kielhorn (Bombay, 1906), by volume, page and line.

7. The way is this : "On splitting the rule, it (i.e., the *ka* after *√sthā-*) is extricated from the agent(-sense), but, at the same time, is not made to denote another (specific) sense ; hence, as (there is the axiom that) "suffixes whose, significance is not specified (are to be taken to) become expressive of the inherent significance", it should be taken to denote the inh. sig. ... and that being expressive of the inh. sig. (which relating to the root is always 'action'), should be denoting action." (Cf. Patj. II. 93. 9-12 : *yoga-vibhagāt ayam kartur apakṣyate, na cānyasminn artha ādīsvate, 'nirदिष्टार्थाś ca pratyayāḥ svarthe bhavanti iti svarthe bhaviṣyati*, ... so 'sau svarthe bhayan bhāve bhaviṣyati').



same device became instrumental, incidentally or secondarily, to sanction other formations as well, all of which were probably not intended by Kātyāyana. The first section of the split-up rule, *viz.*, *supi*, which we would now examine, meant, in the words of Patañjali (with *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule, 3. 2. 3, *āto 'nupasarge kaḥ*) : '*supi cātaḥ ko bhavati*' (II. 98. 6-7); and that became capable of establishing—

not : the agent-forms (like *sama-stha-* or *āsana-stha-*) with *ka* 'only after  $\sqrt{sthā}$ - ' having a *subantopapada*, as by Pāṇini's undivided rule (3.2.4.), *supi sthaḥ* (*kartari*) (*kaḥ*) ;

but : the agent-forms (like *kaccha-pa-*, *kaṭāha-pa-* and *dvi-pa-*) with *ka* 'after any *ā*-ending root' (like  $\sqrt{pā}$ -) having a *subantopapada*. These latter forms are supplied by Patañjali and dissolved by him, respectively, as *ḥacchena pibati*, *kaṭāhena pibati* and *dvābhyām pibati* (II. 98. 7-8).

Thus, by *āto 'nupasarge kaḥ* (3. 2. 3), the form *kaccha-pa-* could be derived by Pāṇini (if he used it) apparently only as *ḥaccham pāti* (or *pibati*) ; but by *supi* (the first section of 3. 2. 4.), it was derived by Patañjali as *ḥacchena pibati* (or even *pāti*). Not only that ; two more forms similarly showing a *ṭṭiyānta upapada* were supplied by Patañjali in illustration of the split-portion, *supi*. That shows that forms of this type had a large frequency in his usage.

But, as for Kātyāyana, his express intention related only to derive additionally forms in the agent-sense from  $\sqrt{sthā}$  with *subantopapada-s* ; and to that new development alone which he wanted to sanction by his first *vārttika*, does he refer in his second *vārttika* as being *siddha* by resorting to the *yoga-vibhāga* and by the second element *sthaḥ*. He did not also mean to relate the first element, *supi* with 'any' *ā*-ending root, as Patañjali wanted to do to get sanctioned the other type of development that he observed in the usage of his times. The context of the first *vārttika* does not permit us to suppose that Kātyāyana had such a view in mind.

3. Curiously enough, both the etymologies of *kaccha-pa-* are found given by Yāska in the *Nirukta* (4. 18) : *ḥacchapah ḥaccham pāti. ḥacchena pāti iti vā. ḥacchena pibati iti vā*<sup>8</sup>. That means, that



*kaccha-pa-*, dissolved as *kacchena* etc (by rule *supi*) was probably not used by Pāṇini or Kātyāyana, but was used by Yāska and Patañjali. This accords with the theory that Yāska was later than Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, and nearer to Patañjali in time.<sup>9</sup>

4. However, it does not appear likely that forms showing a *subantopapada*, any root and the suffix *ka* were not entirely unknown or used by Pāṇini, although he did not derive the r. For, such forms are of common occurrence in Sanskrit literature. And, at least one such form, *pāda-pa-* 'a tree' (from *pādaḥ pibati iti*), is found, on a random look at the vocabulary, used by Pāṇini himself (4. 3. 119) : *kṣudrā-bhramara-vaṭara-pādapād añ*). In early literature, *pāda-pa-* in this sense is attested in the *Manusmṛti* (3. 246) and in a v.l. at the *Mahābhārata* 12. 89. 4b. This, then, is an instance of a form that Pāṇini knew and used but still did not derive by means of a rule ; that leads us to suspect more instances of the type.

As, therefore, Pāṇini's silence on a linguistic phenomenon does not necessarily prove his ignorance or non-use of it, but points, probably, to its absence in his usage as a wide or common characteristic that can lead to a generalised statement, it cannot be said definitely that Pāṇini did not derive forms like *kaccha-pa-* etc. At best, it can be said that he did not have those 'particular' forms in his vocabulary.

5. Though *kaccha-* is used by Pāṇini twice (4. 2. 126, 133, once, probably as the name of a region, 4. 2. 133), among the *muni-traya*, *kaccha-pa-* is met only with Patañjali who uses it five times and once its feminine, *kaccha-pī-*, also (II. 219. 4). In early literature *kacchapa-* is found used in the *Mahābhārata* (1. 25. 17), *Manusmṛti* (1. 44, 12. 42) and the *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* (17. 25). *dvi-pa-* is used in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Manusmṛti* (7. 192). *kaṭāha-pa-* is attested nowhere.

6. Attempts at deriving these forms are closely connected with efforts at understanding their meanings. About *kaṭāha-pa-* and *dvi-pa-* there is no difficulty ; they can mean, respectively, as explained by Patañjali (*supra*), 'one who drinks with a sauce-pan' and 'one who drinks with two (organs, viz., the proboscis and the mouth), (hence) an elephant.'

In *kaccha-pa*,

- (a) the element °*pa-* can stand for the root √*pā-* (*pib*) 'to drink', as taken by Patañjali ;

9. Cf. Liebich, *Pāṇini*, p. 19.



- (b) or for the root  $\sqrt{pa}$ - 'to protect' ;
- (c) *kaccha*- can mean '(a) the mouth or (b) the shell of a tortoise'
- (d) or 'the watery ground or morass' ;
- (e) *kaccha*<sup>o</sup> can stand for *kaccham* (accusative) ;
- (f) or for *kacchena* (instrumental).

To enter into an examination of the above with a view to deciding the probable elements forming the basis of the compound-form and, thus, on the ultimate meaning of the form, is obviously a complicated matter which must be left out of the present paper.

7. The present paper may, however, be taken to have brought to the fore certain evidences that point to the priority of Pāṇini to Yāska, viz. :

- (i) that Pāṇini did not have many forms like *kaccha-pa*- in his usage ;
- (ii) that, although Kātyāyana's device of *yoga-vibhāga* was theoretically capable of it, Kātyāyana probably did not intend to derive *kaccha-pa*-, *kaṭāha-pa*- and *dvi-pa*- with the *subantopapadas*, *kacchena*, *kaṭāhena* and *dvābhyām* ;
- (iii) that Patañjali derived the forms with the *subantopapada*-s ; and,
- (iv) that Yāska derived *kaccha-pa*- with a *karmopapada* (cf. Pāṇini's 3.2.3) as well as with a *subantopapada*.



## SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA—A STUDY IN THE SUBCONSCIOUS

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Bhāsa, the most illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, has long since been acclaimed for his profound psychological understanding of human personality. Meerwarth, for instance, observed in 1917, that "in psychological subtlety Bhāsa is almost modern."<sup>1</sup> A.D. Pusalker observed most pertinently that "most of the characters in these plays are psychological studies."<sup>2</sup> And, A. S. P. Ayyar<sup>3</sup> cited many examples in evidence of Bhāsa's deep psychological insight into characters. Yet, not much effort has been made to explore, in his dramas, hidden desires and motives, the importance of which has caused revolutionary changes in modern psychology. *Svapnavāsavadatta*, the masterpiece of Bhāsa, presents a good case for such a probing.

It is a well-known fact that artistic productions are gold mines for modern psychologists and psychiatrists who have evinced keen interest in creative arts, particularly literature. Bhāsa belongs to that group of creative artists who, on the basis of their special sensitivity and intuitiveness, have unravelled the conflicts and emotional disturbances that rage furiously in the theatre of human mind. Historically, it is very significant to note that what psychologists and psychiatrists achieved in the last few decades had already been anticipated in the dramatic works of playwrights of ancient India, especially, in the works of Bhāsa. At a later period or simultaneously, we cannot definitely say, similar operations were performed by playwrights in the ancient Greece. The tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides depict penetrating insights into the innermost recesses of the human mind. In England in the sixteenth century, Shakespeare, no less than Indian or Greek

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1. A. M. Meerwarth, 'The dramas of Bhāsa : a literary study', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, NS, 13 (1917) 261 ff.; see, p. 278.

2. *Bhāsa—A Study*, (Bombay, 1940), p. 89.

3. A. S. P. Ayyar, *Bhāsa*, (Madras, 1942), pp. 255-60.



dramatists, portrayed on an epic scale a concatenation of emotionally and mentally disturbed personalities.

The modern concept of unconscious motivation was first developed by Freud. He assumed the existence of an unconscious part of the mind beneath the conscious. The unconscious functioned more powerfully than the conscious since it contained a vast reservoir of potent psychic forces of which man was completely ignorant. Man's unfulfilled desires and urges, according to Freud, do not extinguish but recede deeper into the region of the unconscious, only to surprise him in an inalert condition. Many of these unsatisfied desires seek expression in dreams, while others remain concealed in the unconscious region. Sometimes certain unwanted, disturbing or painful unconscious urges are held in check by what Freud called 'censor', as a consequence of which many undesirable and embarrassing urges are repressed or prevented from reaching the conscious plane. These repressions, Freud believed, are the primary cause of mental and emotional disturbances.

If we look at the hero of *Svapnavāsavadatta* in the light of Freudian theory we will find that Udayana is a victim of repressed desires. Udayana, the King of Vasta, was a romantic lover and his romance with Vāsavadattā, the charming princess of Avantī, had woven many legends around him. He was a royal personage of artistic temperament. In his younger days he had distinguished himself in painting the *viśeṣaka* mark on the forehead, in wreathing ever-fresh garlands, and in music which enchanted wild elephants. While teaching music to Vāsavadattā, Udayana had fallen head over heels in love with her and at length eloped with her to his kingdom. Both were fervently attached to each other.

Bhāsa introduces Udayana in the *Svapnavāsavadatta* as being very much dejected and grieved over the reported death of Vāsavadattā. And, though he had been married to Padmāvatī, his mind was still bound up to Vāsavadattā. He confesses privately to his boon companion, Vasantaka :

पद्मावती बहुमता मम यद्यपि रूपशीलमाधुर्यैः ।

वासवदत्ताबद्धं न तु तावन्मे मनो हरति ॥ IV. 4<sup>4</sup>

4. The references are to the edition of the work by C. R. Deodhar, Poona, 3rd edn., 1936, (Poona Oriental Series No. 27).  
CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



But, he will never open out his mind and heart : *na khalu na khalu bruyama*. Rather, he would suppress his feelings and desires. Nor does society warrant such exhibition. The very name of Avantī evokes in him a host of sad memories :

स्मराम्यवन्त्याधिपतेः सुतायाः  
प्रस्थानकाले स्वजनं स्मरन्त्याः ।  
बाष्पं प्रवृत्तं नयनान्तलग्नं  
स्नेहान्ममैवोरसि पातयन्त्याः ॥

अपि च,

बहुशोऽप्युपदेशेषु यया माभीक्ष्माणया ।  
हस्तेन स्रस्तकोणेन कृतमाकाशवादितम् ॥ V. 5-6

But Udayana has to subdue them. When Padmāvatī was asked to request the King to instruct her in the lute, she says that she had made that request, already, but the King suddenly grew silent and moody : अभणित्वा किञ्चिद् दीर्घं निःश्वस्य तूष्णीकः संवृत्तः । (p. 24).

Then asked Vāsavadattā : "What do you gather from that ?" Padmāvatī replied : तर्कयाम्यार्याया वासवदत्ताया गुणान् स्मृत्वा दक्षिणतया ममाग्रतो न रोदिति । (p. 24).

Smitten with passions of past love, Udayana feels desolate and lonely. His is an embittered soul. Nothing would assuage his troubled mind. He knows what it is to love and to be loved. He is keenly alive to the pangs of separation. He stops the Vidūṣaka from molesting the bees, for,

मधुमदकला मधुकरा मदनार्ताभिः प्रियाभिरुपगूढाः ।  
पादन्यासविषण्णा वयमिव कान्तावियुक्ताः स्युः ॥ IV. 3

The haunting memory of Vāsavadattā reminds him of the pleasant hours spent with her. Her name comes spontaneously to his lips because,

ततो वाणी तथैवेयं पूर्वाभ्यासेन निस्सृता । IV. 5

Quite impossible it is for him to forget the deep-rooted affection for Vāsavadattā. Grief, instead of subsiding, revives anew every time it is recollected :

दुःखं त्यक्तुं बद्धमूलोऽनुरागः स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा याति दुःखं नवत्वम् । IV. 6

From these illustrations we conclude that Udayana is a torn personality tormented by unsatisfied desires which remain deep-seated in his subconscious. What are these ungratified desires ?



Whence and how do they arise? What is their purpose? Why does Udayana feel troubled of them? The answer to these and several other questions could be obtained by making an analysis of Udayana's dream which he had in the Fifth Act.

It has been rightly said that dreams form "the royal road to the interpretation of the unconscious." They furnish valuable data for certain impulses that are suppressed or unsatisfied in waking life. According to Freud's theory "the dream represents the fulfilment of a wish, often of a concealed wish repressed from consciousness during waking life, and expressed in the dream symbolically by a series of dream-pictures, thoughts, and actions."<sup>5</sup> From the earliest days, the dream has perplexed man, and a huge literature on the nature and interpretation of dreams has grown. In Chaucer's famous *Nonne Prestes Tale* two opinions on the origin of dreams are expressed. The first is put in the mouth of Dame Pertelote who observes that dreams are caused by excess of humours :

Swevenes engendren of replecciouns,  
And oft of fume, and of complecciouns,  
Whan humours been to habundant in a wight.

The second is put forth by Chauntecleer who thinks that dreams are sent by some supernatural power and signify some terrible calamity :

Faire Pertelote so deere,  
By swiche ensamples olde mais tow leere,  
That no man sholde been to recchelees  
Of dreams, for I seye thee douteless,  
That many a dreem ful soore is far to drede.

The third theory which regards dreams as meaningless is also referred to in the same tale of Chaucer. Cato, the Latin writer, is credited to have said : "Ne do no fors of dremes", i.e., Give no importance to dreams. Cicero, in his poem *On Divination*, wrote : "Dreams are not entitled to any credit or respect whatever." The modern psychodynamic theory of dreams was propounded by Freud who "took the position that dreams are completely meaningful, that they are highly symbolic, and that basically they are wish-fulfilling. That is, the dream is directed toward the satisfaction of deep

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5. A. G. Tansley, *The New Psychology and its Relation to Life*, (London, 1929), p. 133.



unconscious needs.”<sup>6</sup> This is the most satisfying exposition of dreams.

Bhāsa, the supreme master of his craft, now unfolds before us the Dream Scene in a superb manner. There is no doubt the Scene ‘must have been his most brilliant success on the stage.’<sup>7</sup> This is not a mere stroke of luck but “contrived with as much imagination as ingenuity.” The very title *Śvapnavāśavadattā* (‘the Vision of ‘āśavadattā’) indicates that the dream forms the *magnum opus* of the drama. Both in conception and in execution the Dream scene is the summit of the drama. The whole movement of the drama from the very outset is directed towards this artfully designed Scene. Bhāsa’s aim was, obviously, to make a scientific study of the subconscious mind of Udayana. He was perfectly aware of the technique which has now opened up an entirely new continent of the mind. Moreover, Bhāsa’s presentation of the dream is not crude and primitive as in William Langland’s *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, a poem of the fourteenth century. It is as realistic and artistic as Lady Macbeth’s sleep-walking.

At the commencement of the Fifth Act we are told that the nuptial rites have aroused memories of Vāsavadattā in the King and that Padmāvatī has developed severe headache due to which she had retired to her bed in the *Samudragṛhaka*. Vāsavadattā is called forth to relieve the pain of the princess. The king is also informed. Padmāvatī, however, does not go to her bed in the *Samudragṛhaka* and the King accompanied by the jester enters there to find in the dim light of the lamp a bed spread without any furrows. It is very unfortunate that critics have not realized the significance of the name ‘*Samudragṛhaka*’. Even Kalidāsa has imitated it blindly without grasping its special significance. Literally, it means ‘ocean-pavilion’ but metaphorically it symbolizes the subconscious in which the mind of Udayana is submerged. This analogy is beautifully explained by Swami Akhilananda who says: “According to Freud, Jung, and others, the greater portion of the mind is actually submerged, unknown to every one of us. Hindus agree with them in this respect. The mind can be compared to an iceberg. Although

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6. George W. Kisker, *The Disorganized Personality*, (New York, 1964), p. 199, to which I am much indebted.

7. Krishna Chaitanya, *A New History of Sanskrit Literature*, (Bombay, 1962), p. 299.



only a small portion is visible above the water, nevertheless the submerged part of it exists and is a power to be reckoned with. From the surface of the water one cannot easily gauge the size of the whole iceberg, yet it may be powerful enough to destroy a huge ship such as the ill-fated 'Titanic'. Similarly, the submerged mind, the subconscious state, is a potent factor and powerful enough to determine even conscious tendencies. Often, we do not realize what influences are hidden there. A man may not be aware of the forces that lie beneath the surface of his mind, nor can these forces be suspected by an untrained observer."<sup>8</sup> Similarly, a critic like Keith has failed to appreciate poor illumination. It again represents the conscious and the subconscious states of the mind. Professors Rex Knight and Margaret Knight explain this analogy thus: "The mind may be compared with a large circular hall, filled with a great variety of objects, and lit by one small and heavily-shaded electric-light bulb in the centre. Just under the bulb there is a pool of light in which everything can be seen clearly. Further out, there is a half-lit area in which the shapes of objects can be dimly perceived; further out still, there is complete darkness. Any knowledge we have of the contents of the outer spaces of the hall must be gained otherwise than by sight—by touch, by inference, from what we can see in the central areas, or by some other means. Similarly, what knowledge we have of the deeper layers of the unconscious mind must be gained by other means than introspection—by inference, from behaviour, or by indirect methods such as psycho-analysis and the analysis of dreams."<sup>9</sup> So, the lighted portion of the *Samudragṛhaka* denotes the conscious, and the dark portion the subconscious. The bed, it is important to mark, is made in the dark region, away from the dim lamp. Here again, the unruffled bed represents the conscious and the subconscious. The conscious part of the bed to be occupied by the King and the subconscious part, the store-house of repressed desires, left vacant for Vāsavadattā who mistakes the King for Padmāvati and lies down by his side. Lying down of Vāsavadattā is symbolic of repressed desires lying down in the subconscious. The moment Vāsavadattā lies down, the repressed desires suddenly spring up to the conscious level of Udayana's mind and take various shapes in his dream. Thus, we notice that Bhāsa has very exquisitely

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8. Swami Akhilananda, *Hindu Psychology*, (London, 1960), p. 5.

9. *A Modern Introduction to Psychology*, (London, 1961), pp. 239-40



employed symbol within symbol as if he were not satisfied till he had laid bare the very bottom of the subconscious and emptied its impish contents to the delight of his spectators.

Let us now take up the actual dream and analyse its material. Udayana's dream is made of the following seven dream-speeches (pp. 41-42) :

- (1) हा वासवदत्ते !
- (2) हा अवन्तिराजपुत्रि !
- (3) हा प्रिये ! हा प्रियशिष्ये ! देहि मे प्रतिवचनम् ।
- (4) किं कुपितासि ?
- (5) यच्चकुपिता, किमर्थं नालङ्कृतासि ?
- (6) किं विरचिकां स्मरसि ?
- (7) तेन हि विरचिकार्थं भवतीं प्रसादयामि । (हस्तौ प्रसारयति ।)

These are scattered phrases and sentences composed of pictures, thoughts and actions, yet they function purposively and are controlled by a unifying principle. In order to delve deep, we shall have to bear in mind that though "the material of dreams is taken from the past, their psychological meaning often points to the future."<sup>10</sup> We shall, therefore, have to cross the corridors of time and look back to the past events in the life of Udayana. In the First Act, the student from Rājagṛha reports that while he was staying at a village named Lāvāṇaka, a great catastrophe occurred there. When the King was out for hunting, his wife Vāsavadattā, the Avanti princess, was burnt alive in a village fire. When the King came back and heard the news he was much grieved and decided to end his life, too, in the same fire, but was prevented by his ministers with great effort. The King, then, pressed to his heart the half-burnt ornaments that had adorned Vāsavadattā's body and fell into a swoon. Suddenly he rose up and burst into lamentation :

'हा वासवदत्ते ! हा अवन्तिराजपुत्रि ! हा प्रिये ! हा प्रियशिष्ये !' (p. 10)

Here is the material from which the first three dream-speeches are unconsciously made. The fourth and fifth speeches are a composite of a number of images arising from the same incident. Vāsavadattā's perishing in the fire takes the shape of a question : *kim kupita 'si?* In anger a person first turns red and then black. Anger is also expressive of the inner distress of Udayana at his separation



from Vāsavadattā. The next interrogation, *yady akupitā kimartham nalankṛtasi*, forms a mixed image from the burnt remnants of the ornaments which adorned the person of Vāsavadattā. Udayana in his dreams finds no ornaments on her body, since they are burnt. The sixth and seventh dream-speeches originate from a very old love-affair in which the King was involved with a courtesan named Viracikā. It is said that once Udayana, by inadvertance, addressed Vāsavadattā by Viracikā's name. Thereupon he had to pacify her by falling at her feet. Even this little incident had not faded altogether away into oblivion but lay buried in the subconscious of the King. Suddenly, in an unguarded moment, it comes out. How true to life ! Udayana's greatest wish which was repressed had been to seek re-union with Vāsavadattā. His wish is now fulfilled in his dream. This wish-fulfillment which should be the consummation of the dream is subtly but candidly communicated in the word *romahaṛṣa*. Lastly, the knocking of Udayana against a panel of the door suggests the end of the illusion and the dawning of reality.



## COGNITION (*JÑĀNA*) ACCORDING TO PRABHĀKARA MIŚRA

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In Indian thought, the problem of knowledge has been tackled through the problem of reality. It has been, thus, essential in every philosophical school, from the earliest times, to equip itself with an apparatus for the theory of knowledge on which its metaphysical structure could be built. However, with regards to the experience of knowledge there is a controversy. Every Indian system of philosophy tries to explain the nature of knowledge and has its own views on this problem. According to the Jain, Buddhist and the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā school of Prabhākara it is held that knowledge is self-luminous. On the other hand, the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā school of Kumārila holds that knowledge is never experienced directly but is only inferred. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system differs from this in that it holds knowledge as directly experienced by a mental perception called *anuvyavasāya*. In the Sāṃkhya-Yoga system, *vyrtti-jñāna* is said to be experienced by the *Puruṣa*, while the Vedānta holds that *Vyrtti-jñāna* is experienced by the *Sakṣi-Caitanya* which is self-luminous.

We are here mainly concerned with the theory of knowledge of Prabhākara Miśra. It is assumed that according to Prabhākara, knowledge is self-luminous, and it illumines simultaneously (1) itself, (2) its object, and (3) the knower, by the theory of *tripuṭi-pratyakṣa* or tripartite perception, an assumption based on the *Prakarana-pañcika* of Śalikanātha. But, it is necessary to investigate this view of Śalikanātha on the basis of the writings of Prabhākara himself.

To investigate the views of Prabhākara one has to begin with Śabara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Jaiminisūtras*. In the *Śabara-bhāṣya*, while attacking the reality of the external world, the idealist's view is thus stated : "We do not perceive any difference between the cognition (*jñāna*) and its object (*artha*), and the cognition (*buddhi*) is apprehended by us in perception (*pratyakṣa*). Therefore, we hold



that there is no form or shape of any object apart from the form of the cognition."<sup>1</sup>

Explaining the above in his *Bṛhatī*, on the *Śābara-Bhāṣya*, Prabhākara says : "*Pratyakṣa ca no buddhiḥ*. Here, *buddhi* means *saṃvit* (consciousness)." Śālikanātha supplies the reason for this deduction in his *Pañcika* or *Rjuvimalā*, a commentary on *Bṛhatī* : "Because the cognition or *buddhi* is the object of inference according to the *Mīmāṃsaka*."<sup>2</sup>

Further, repudiating the view of the idealist, Śābara says : "The objective (*viṣaya*) of the perceptual cognition is the object (*artha*), not the cognition."<sup>3</sup> "It is only after the object becomes cognized that the person comes to cognize the cognition which he does through a subsequent inference."<sup>4</sup> Śābara's conclusion regarding this matter is as follows : "Hence the cognition (*jñāna*) is not the object of perception."<sup>5</sup> Again, "We infer the cognition without a form, and cognize in sense-perception the object with a form."<sup>6</sup>

From this, it will be clear that in Śābara's view, cognition or *jñāna* is the object of inference and, so, can never be perceptible.

Prabhākara, too, explaining the view of Śābara, repeatedly says that cognition is inferable, and is not the object of perception.<sup>7</sup> As he puts it, cognition is *prameya*, not *saṃvedya*. Here, he draws a subtle distinction between *prameya* (cognizable) and *saṃvedya* (object of *saṃvedana*). *Samvedana* is that cognition where the form of an object is apprehended, and this can occur only in the case

1. अर्थज्ञानयोराकारभेदं नोपलभामहे । प्रत्यक्षा च नो बुद्धिः । अतस्तद्भिन्नम् अर्थरूपं नाम न किञ्चिद् अस्तीति पश्यामः ।

*Śābara-bhāṣya* with *Bṛhatī* of Prabhākara Miśra, (University of Madras, 1934), pp 74-80.

2. मीमांसकस्य बुद्धेरनुमेयत्वात् । *Pañcika*, p. 77.

3. अर्थविषया हि प्रत्यक्षा बुद्धिः, न बुद्धिविषया । *Śābara-bhāṣya*, pp. 80-81.

4. ज्ञाते त्वनुमानाद् अवगच्छति । *Ibid.*, p. 85.

5. तस्माद् अप्रत्यक्षा बुद्धिः । *Ibid.*, p. 87.

6. निराकाराम् एव बुद्धिम् अनुमिमीमहे, साकारं चार्थं प्रत्यक्षम् अवगच्छामः । *Ibid.*, p. 88.

7. Cf. आनुमानिकज्ञानवादिनस्तु नायं पर्यनुयोगः । *Bṛhatī*, p. 81 ; तस्माद् ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम् इत्ययुक्तम् । *Ibid.*, p. 85. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



of objects apprehended through the senses.<sup>8</sup> In the case of the *prameya*, on the other hand, it is not necessary for any form or figure to be present in cognition.

Elucidating the idea of Prabhākara, in the *Pañcika*, Śālikanātha says: "The cognition (*jñāna*) is not perceptible because its form (*svarūpa*) cannot be apprehended, but since its presence can be apprehended by means of inference, which is a *pramāṇa*, *jñāna* has to be regarded as a *prameya*."<sup>9</sup>

Concluding this topic, Prabhākara says: "Thus it has been proved that the cognition is inferable by means of its effect (*phala*)."<sup>10</sup> The idea is: *Samvit* (consciousness) is the effect (*phala*) of the cognition (*jñāna*), and since an effect cannot be produced without its cause, the cognition is inferred by means of the consciousness or *Samvit*.<sup>11</sup> The inference may formally be stated thus: "The cognition exists because we have the apprehension of its object."<sup>12</sup> Thus, cognition or *jñāna* can never be perceptible (*pratyakṣa*); it is inferable (*anumeya*). This is the conclusion arrived at by Prabhākara. He, however, also declares: "We do not say that the *samvit* (consciousness) cannot be apprehended. In fact, it can be apprehended as a consciousness, not as something cognized."<sup>13</sup> What is meant by this distinction is that the consciousness, even though apprehended, cannot itself form the object (*karma*) of any cognition.<sup>14</sup> Showing that consciousness or *samvit* is to be apprehended, he states emphatically: "We cannot regard the consciousness as entirely unapprehended, because it is only when the consciousness is apprehended that the cognition of things becomes possible."<sup>15</sup>

The correct conclusion from the above would be that the *samvit* (consciousness) is to be perceived or *samvedya* and the *jñāna*

8. यत्र विषयस्य स्वरूपं परिच्छिद्यते तत् संवेद्यम् इत्युच्यते । *Bṛhatī*, p. 84.

9. स्वरूपाग्रहणाज् ज्ञानम् अप्रत्यक्षम् अनुमेयत्वाच्च च प्रमेयम् इति । *Pañcika*, p. 84.

10. अतः सिद्धम् आनुमानिकत्वं बुद्धेः फलतः । *Bṛhatī*, p. 87.

11. Cf. *Pañcika*, pp. 80, 87.

12. Ganganatha Jha, *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in its Sources*, (Banaras, 1943), p. 81.

13. न ब्रूमः—न संवेद्या संविद् इति । संवित्तयैव संवित् संवेद्या, न संवेद्यतया । *Bṛhatī*, p. 82.

14. नास्याः कर्मभावो विद्यते । *Ibid.*, p. 82.

15. न चासंवेद्यैव संवित्, तन्मूलत्वात् सर्वभावानां संवेद्यभावस्य । *Ibid.*, p. 83.



(cognition) is to be inferred. Here, Prabhākara has drawn a distinction between *saṃvit* and *jñāna*. As a matter of fact, all men are aware of this twofold form: (1) the effect, in the form of the *saṃvit* or consciousness, and (2) the cause, in the form of the *jñāna* or cognition.<sup>16</sup> The *saṃvit*, the effect (*phala*) of the *jñāna*, is self-apprehended and the *jñāna*, the cause of the *saṃvit*, is inferred.

It is to be noted that Prabhākara only says that the *saṃvit* is *saṃvedya* (to be apprehended) or its form is apprehended in the perception. Śalikanātha, in the *Pañcika* as well as in the *Prakarana-pañcika* goes a step further and declares that *saṃvit* is self-luminous (*svayam-prakāśa*).<sup>17</sup>

Śalikanātha shows that the *saṃvit* is called *pratyakṣa* (the object of the perception), because it has been apprehended directly (*aparokṣa*) but, in fact, it never becomes the object of the sense-perception.<sup>18</sup>

According to Śalikanātha, however, the cognition is inferable, and not perceptible. He proves that a cognition cannot be *pratyakṣa* or object of the perception.<sup>19</sup> He repeatedly says that cognition is inferable.<sup>20</sup> And, as mentioned above, he explains lucidly how the cognition (*jñāna*) can be inferred by means of *saṃvit* or consciousness, the effect of the former.<sup>21</sup>

All this go to show that according to both Prabhākara and Śalikanātha, a cognition (*jñāna*) is inferable and a *saṃvit* or consciousness is to be apprehended in perception (*saṃvedya*) or is self-luminous (*svayam-prakāśa*). And, there is a clear distinction between the *jñāna* and the *saṃvit*. What is the *jñāna*? Says Śalikanātha: 'That is the cause of the *saṃvit*, namely, the connection

16. Cp. *Ibid.* p. 83.

17. स्वयंप्रकाशरूपत्वात् संविदः, *Pañcika*, p. 83; स्वयंप्रकाशैव मितिः । *Prakarana-pañcika* (B. H. U., Varanasi, 1961), p. 173.

18. प्रत्यक्षशब्दोऽपि संविदाम् अपरोक्षतया न पुनर् इन्द्रियविज्ञानवेद्यतयैवेति मन्तव्यम् । *Pañcika*, p. 83.

19. क्षणिकत्वाच्च चास्य प्रत्यक्षता न सम्भवति । *Ibid.*, p. 84. संविद् अर्थश्च द्वयं तावत् प्रत्यक्षम्, न तु ज्ञानम् । *Ibid.*, p. 80.

20. कादाचित्कं ज्ञानम् अनुमीयते । *Ibid.*, p. 80; प्रत्यक्षोऽर्थोऽनुमेयं ज्ञानम् । *Ibid.*, p. 84.

21. Cf. कथम् इदानीं ज्ञानसिद्धिः ? उच्यते—फलभूतायाः संविदः कार्यरूपत्वात्, कार्यस्य च कारणमन्तरेणानुपपत्तेः, नित्यकार्योदयापत्त्या चात्मनः स्थिरस्य कारणत्वे निरस्ते, कादाचित्कं ज्ञानम् अनुमीयते । *Ibid.*, p. 80.



between the soul and the mind."<sup>22</sup> But what is *saṃvit*? "The effect (*phala*) of the *jñāna* (cognition)" replies Śālikanātha in *Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya-Parīṣiṣṭa*.<sup>23</sup>

Thus, according to the *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* school of Prabhākara the *saṃvit* or consciousness is the effect of the *jñāna* or cognition in the same way as the *jñātata* or manifestation is according to Kumārila or the Bhāṭṭa system. The difference lies in their nature. The *jñātata* is held to be a property of the external object, while the *saṃvit*, is held as a property of the soul. This is referred to by Śālikanātha also in the *Mīmāṃsā-Bhāṣya-Parīṣiṣṭa*: "Where does the *saṃvit* exist? In the knower (*viz.* the soul), not in the knowable (*viz.* the object)."<sup>24</sup>

The other point of distinction between these two, is that the *jñātata* is to be inferred by means of *arthāpatti*, but the *saṃvit* is to be apprehended in perception (*saṃvedya*) according to Prabhākara or, as Śālikanātha says, it is self-luminous (*svayam-prakāśa*).

It has, now, to be seen, why Prabhākara had accepted the *saṃvit* as self-luminous. Possibly, he might have succumbed to the Buddhist thought which has influenced also, many other theories of Kumārila and Prabhākara.<sup>25</sup> But why? So far as the Buddhist is concerned there is no difficulty for him in holding that theory. The Buddhist tendency is towards idealism from the very beginning. First, he proves the importance of knowledge as well as of its luminosity and declares: "If the consciousness is not accepted as self-luminous the apprehension of the object cannot be proved."<sup>26</sup> He then tries to prove the identity of the object and its cognition, in the Yogācāra system. The self-luminosity of knowledge, therefore, paved the way for idealism. Moreover, this theory is a main support for the non-soul theory of the Buddhist, for, when the knowledge is self-luminous, there would be no need of a soul to experience the knowledge.

22. किं तर्ह्यनुमीयते? ज्ञानम्, संविदुत्पत्तिकारणम् आत्मनः सन्निकर्षार्थं तद् ।  
*Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, p. 190.

23. ननु केयं संवित्तिर्नाम? ज्ञानफलं प्रकाशः । Quoted in *Prakaraṇa-pañcikā*, pp. 190-91; fn. 2.

24. क्व पुनरसौ वर्तते? ज्ञातरि, न तु ज्ञेये । *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91, fn. 2.

25 Cf. D. N. Shastri, *Critique of Indian Realism*, (Agra, 1964), p. 478.

26. अग्रत्यक्षोपलम्भस्य नानुपपत्तिः प्रसिद्धा ।  
CC-0. Mumukshu Bhawan Varanasi Collection.

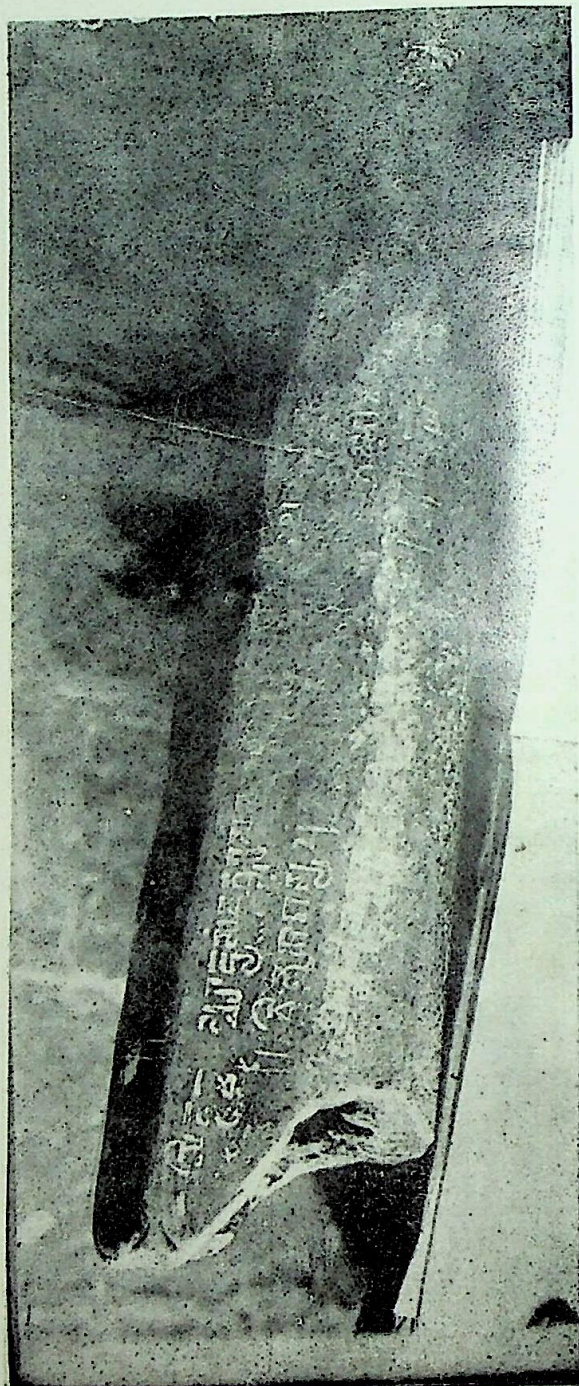


Prabhākara, on the contrary is, a realist. He declares that knowledge and its object are two separate entities. He believes, also, that the soul is distinct from knowledge. It is, therefore, still, not clear why he has accepted this theory. It may be that the self-luminosity of the consciousness appealed so much to Prabhākara and his followers that they could not discard this theory. They proved, however, with a bold assertion that *saṃvit* (consciousness), being self-luminous, illumines simultaneously itself, its object and the knower. Thus, accepting this theory the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā school of Prabhākara follows the path of free thinking and is directly opposed to the idealism of the Buddhist.









Shuddhi Mahadev Foundation



# SHUDDH MAHADEV INSCRIPTION OF THE SON OF (MAHĀRĀJA) VIBHUNĀGA

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This inscription was brought to my notice some years back by Professor Shrikanth Kaul, my former pupil, who also very kindly supplied me a photograph of the same. I had intended to publish it after examining it in original ; but as it has not been possible for me to visit the site so far, I am publishing it from the photograph.

The inscription is engraved on the shaft of a broken *Trisūla* (trident) of Śiva at the temple of Śiva, popularly known as Śuddha Mahādeva, and a well-known place of pilgrimage, on the river Devikā, at a distance of 9 miles from Chineni, a town in Udhampur District of Jammu and Kashmir State. In Kalhaṇa's *Rajataranginī*, (VII. 185), there is a reference to the consecration of *Trisūlas*.

The writing consists of three lines and is only partially preserved. The characters belong to the North-Western variety of the Indian alphabet of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and approximate closely to those of the Mathura Stone Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II, dated in the Gupta era 61, as is clear from the forms of *s* and *m*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The object of the inscription appears to have been to record the installation of the *Trisūla* at the shrine of Śiva, although the present state of the text does not permit of a very definite assertion on this point.

The inscription was dated in the regnal year of the king who put up the *Trisūla*, but the date has been lost in the damaged portion of the epigraph.

This record, though brief and imperfectly preserved, is important for two reasons. Firstly, it proves that in the 4th century A.D. or even possibly in the third century A.D., Śuddha Mahādeva was regarded as a sacred place worthy of the visit by the kings. Secondly, Vibhunāga of this record may, in all probability, be identical with the Nāga ruler of that name whose coins have been



discovered, at Padmavati.<sup>1</sup> In that case, the son of this ruler must have come to Śuddha Mahādeva on a pilgrimage. The only other Nāga document found in North-Western India is the metallic seal of Maheśvara Nāga, found at Lahore.<sup>2</sup> But the seal, being a portable object, might have been brought to Lahore from elsewhere, and need not be taken as an evidence of Nāga rule over the region where Lahore is situated. The use of the qualifying word *sva-rāja* with the date may also furnish an indication of the fact that while the date was in his own regnal year, the territories belonged to someone else.

## TEXT

1. सिद्धम् [१\*] स्वराज्यसंवत्सरे पंच ... ...ल.....सत
2. विभुनागस्य पुत्रे[\*ण].....पतिना लोक (?)
3. गच्छन्ति ये तु क्षयं ... ...

## Translation

"Success has been attained. In the year 5 of his own rule ... .. by the son of (Mahārāja) Vibhunāga, the lord of ... (the benefactor of the) world ... but those who perish...."

1. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, V, 26-27.

2. *Fleet, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 282-83.



## NEW LIGHT ON THE ALLEGED CHUṬU INSCRIPTION FROM KANHERI

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The inscription which forms the subject-matter of the present paper is from Kanhēri in the Thānā district of the Maharashtra State and is engraved on the wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXVII there. It was discovered by Bird<sup>1</sup> and noticed by E. W. West,<sup>2</sup> who also furnished an eye-copy of the same. The text of this inscription, together with a translation, was first published by Bühler<sup>3</sup> and has been commented upon by Franke,<sup>4</sup> Rapson<sup>5</sup> and Lüders.<sup>6</sup>

The first line of this inscription, though badly damaged, appears to contain the details of the record, *viz*, the tenth day of some fortnight in the winter season (*hemanta*) of the ninth regnal year of a king whose name is not traceable in the eye-copy supplied by West. However, it is quite clear that it records, as stated by Bühler and others, the gift of a cave to the community of the Buddhist monks by a certain woman named Nāgamulā (*Nāgamulanikā*), who is described as the daughter of a *mahārāja* and of a *mahabhōjī*, as a *mahārāthinī* (i.e., wife of a *mahārāthin*), as the mother of Skandanāgaśātaka (*khamdanāga ātaka*), and as the sister of Ahija Dhanasēna (? *Dhēnasēna*).

Basing his reading on "West's eye-copies and some unpublished materials"<sup>7</sup> available to him, Bühler found in the epigraph the faintly visible traces of the letters *i pu la*<sup>8</sup> in the first line before the first break. On the basis of this reading as well as on the grounds of palaeography of the record he concluded that "it is not impossible

1. *Historical Researches*, 1847, plate XLVII, 26.

2. 'Copies of inscriptions from the Buddhist Cave-temples of Kanheri etc', *JBBRAS* 6 (1861) 1-14; see p. 10, Insc. 40, and plate.

3. *ASWI*, 5 (1883) 86.

4. 'Epigraphische Notizen' *ZDMG*, 50 (1896), 585-606; see p. 599.

5. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty etc.*, (London, 1908), p. liii.

6. *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, (Calcutta, 1912), No. 1021.

7. *ASWI*, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

8. The first *i* is the medial, evidently, of *ri*. Bühler seems to have traced these letters in the impressions at his disposal.



that the inscription was dated according to the regnal years of Siri-Puḷumāvi."

This view of Bühler was questioned by Rapson who brought forth the theory that the "internal evidence (of this inscription) proves that this attribution (by Bühler) is incorrect". Rapson had no doubt that this Nāgamulā was identical with the female donor of the Banavāsi inscription<sup>9</sup> dated in the twelfth year of *Rajan* Hāriti-putra Viṣṇukaṇḍa-Chuṭukulānanda Śātakarṇi. The reason for the identification was this: He held that the name of the donor is not given in the latter record which however introduces her, as in the case of our Kaṇhēri inscription, as the daughter of a *mahabhōji* and of a *mahārāja*, i.e., the king of the record. He also thought that she was associated in the grant with the prince Śiva skandanāgaśrī, whom Rapson, with little doubt, identified with Skandanāgiśātaka of the Kaṇhēri record. Naturally, therefore, he concluded that this Nāgamulā's father the *mahārāja* in whose regnal year the Kaṇhēri inscription is dated must have been the same Chuṭu king of the Banavāsi record.<sup>10</sup>

This theory of Rapson has been accepted by later scholars like Lüders,<sup>11</sup> and others.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of this theory, it had also been surmised that the Chuṭu power reached as far north as Kaṇhēri,<sup>13</sup> though there were scholars like D. C. Sircar who doubted the identification of Śivaskandanāgaśrī with Śkandināga, and the Chuṭu occupation of Aparānta,<sup>14</sup> i.e., the Thāṇā region.<sup>15</sup>

However, a closer examination of the problem would show that Bühler's theory is preferable to that of Rapson on the following grounds. Firstly, while there are numerous Sātavāhana inscriptions

9. Lüders, *List*, No. 1186.

10. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. liii, Nos. 24-25.

11. *Op. cit.*, Nos. 1021, 1186.

12. K. Gopalachari, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, (Madras, 1942), p. 157, footnote.

13. K. A. N. Sastri, *A Comprehensive History of India*, (Calcutta, 1957), p. 326; *A History of South India*, (Madras, 1958), p. 95.

14. D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of Sātavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, (Calcutta, 1939), pp. 221-22, R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1960), p. 208. However, it may be observed that Sircar, too, accepted Rapson's view that the name Śivaskandanāgaśrī of the Banavāsi inscription is that of the son of the donor of that record.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 101, fn.



in the Aparānta region, i. e., in Kaṇhēri,<sup>16</sup> Kārle<sup>17</sup> and Nāsik<sup>18</sup>—some of them actually belonging to the king Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi himself<sup>19</sup>—there is not a single inscription in the area attributable to the Chuṭus without doubt. Secondly, while the forms of *a*, *ma*, *ya* etc. in the Kaṇhēri inscription suggest for the record, a date in the second century A. D. the Banavāsi epigraph is to be assigned palaeographically to a later period, viz., about the third century A.D.<sup>20</sup> Thirdly, while the letters [r]lipula traced by Bühler preceding the date portion in the first line in the Kaṇhēri inscription evidently form part of the name Siri-Pulamāvi, they cannot be explained at all if it is attributed to the said Chuṭu king. Above all, the internal evidence cited by Rapson has been proved to be wrong by subsequent researches. For instance, G. S. Gai, who has said the last word on the above mentioned Banavāsi record,<sup>21</sup> has now shown beyond doubt that the name Śivaskandanāgaśrī is of the donor herself and not of her son, the prince (*yuvarāja*).<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, the impressions of this inscription<sup>23</sup> preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, which I had occasion to examine, exhibit faint traces of two letters<sup>24</sup> in the beginning of the second line of the record and they appear to read *Kuja*<sup>25</sup> which may be the name of this prince.

16. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 987, 1024.

17. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1100, 1105-06.

18. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1122-26, 1146-47.

19. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1100, 1106, 1122-24.

20. See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 208 and footnote.

21. *Ep. Ind.*, 34, pp. 239 ff., and plate.

22. The very first two editors of this Banavasi inscription, viz., Bhagavanlal Indraji (*Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, 1881, pp. 100-01) and Bühler (*Ind. Ant.*, 14 (1885) 331 ff., and plate) had held that Śivaskandanāgaśrī is the name of the female donor of the record. But Rapson and others ignored it.

23. A. R. *Ep.*, 1935-36, No. E. 123.

24. See *Ind. Ant.*, 14 (1885) 331; cf. also *Ep. Ind.*, 34, p. 241, footnote 2.

25. While in the facsimile given by Gai the traces of *ku* are found, the letter *ja* is quite visible in the plate given by Bühler, and it was read so by him. The name *Kuja*, literally meaning 'born of the earth', is usually applied to the planet Mars. This name, found here as that of a prince, reminds one of another prince's name Āgaraju (Skt. *Āṅāradyut*) meaning 'shining like the Mars' in a Bharhut inscription (*CII* Vol. II, Part ii, Nos. A 1, and A 2). The term

(Contd.)



On the basis of what has been stated above, there is little doubt that this Nāgamulā, the mother of Skandanāgaśātaka, of the Kanḥēri record, was quite different from Śivaskandanāgasrī, the mother of Kuja Yuvarāja of the Banavāsi inscription, even though we may accept that the one like the other is called the daughter of a *mahārāja* and of a *mahābhōji*,<sup>26</sup> in the respective records.

Then again, there is internal evidence in the inscription supported by later discovery in favour of the probability of Bühler's theory. The Kanḥēri inscription under question refers to Nāgamulā's son Skandanāga, as a Sātaka, i.e., Sātakarṇi,<sup>27</sup> another name of the Sātavāhana family.<sup>28</sup> Now, in the Myākadōni (Adoni Taluk, Bellary District) rock inscription<sup>29</sup> dated in the eighth year of the Sātavāhana ruler Srī-Puḷumāvi, i.e., Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puḷumāvi II, we have reference to a general (*senāpati*) named Skandanāga

Kuja may also stand for Skt. *Kuñja* (cf., the name *Kujārā*=Skt. *Kuñjārā* in another Bharhut inscription, *ibid.*, No. A. 13, and the name *Kujārā*=Skt. *Kuñjārā* in two of the Sañchi Stūpa inscriptions. See Lüders, *List*, Nos. 255 and 287) which is mentioned as a personal name by Pāṇini in his rule *gotre kuñjādibhyaś cphañ* (4. 1. 93). Even today, the personal names *Kuñja*, *Kuñji*, *Kuñju* are often met with in South India. Again, as *kujā* may also stand for the Pāli *kujja* (Skt. *kubja*) and *khujja* (Skt. *kubja* or *kṣudra*), it is not unlikely that just like *khujja-rāja*, meaning, 'a smaller king', the expression *kujā-yuvarāja* is used here to mean 'a smaller prince'. See the PTS Pali-Eng. Dict., s. v. *kujati*, *kujja* and *khujja*.

26. In the Banavasi inscription the actual reading of the concerned passage is *mahābhūviya mahārājabalikāya*, in which the word *mahābhūviya* has been taken by Bhagavanlal and others, of course, with some doubt, to be an equivalent of *mahābhōjiya* of the Kanḥēri inscription and to be an adjective of *Śivaskandanāgasrī*. But, can we not take it to stand for the Skt. *mahābhūvika*, 'ruler of a great country'? (Cf. the Prakṛt *aṭhabhūgiya*, Skt. *aṣṭabhāgika*—See D. C. Sircar, *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language*, 1943, p. 16) and equate it with *mahābhūmika* of Monier-Williams's *Skt.-Eng. Dict.*). If so, it may, then, be better taken to be an adjective of the word *mahārāja* immediately following. Rapson suggested that the whole passage quoted above may be taken in the sense of "the daughter of a *mahābhōji* and a *mahārāja*." In this sense, however, the reading expected would be *mahābhūviya mahārājasa* [\*ca] *balikāya*.

27. See *Arch. Sur. S. India*, Vol. I, p. 61, footnote.

28. *A Comprehensive History of India*, pp. 298-300. As Nāgamulā is stated to be the wife of a *mahārāṭhin*, probably a title given by the Sātavāhanas to their feudatories of the Rāṭhika race (see *ibid.*, p. 316), her son could have claimed to be a S takarṇi only through his grandfather who was the ruling king.

29. *A. R. Ep.*, 1915, p. 112 and plate. Also, V S. Sukthankar, 'A new Andhra inscription of Siri-Pulumavi', *Ep. Ind.*, 14 (1915-16) pp. 153-55 ff. and plate.



(Khamdanaka), stated to be the ruler of the Sātavāhaniya district (Sātavāhanihāra). This inscription, it has been stated, indicates that the Bellary region was conquered and annexed to the Sātavāhana empire, evidently during the reign of Puṣumāvi II, and this newly conquered territory was named after the dynastic designation of the conquerer.<sup>30</sup> As this Skandanāga does not bear any feudatory title like *Maharathi* or *Mahabhōja* it is likely that he was a Sātavāhana general governing the newly conquered region as a representative of the emperor.

It is also likely that this Skandanāga was himself a scion of the Sātavāhana family, as the name of the district governed by him would suggest. Again, it is also not improbable that this Skandanāgaśātaka of our Kaṇhēri record was identical with the Sātavāhana general Skandanāga of the Myākadōni inscription. If so, it will naturally follow that his maternal grandfather, the *mahārāja* in whose regnal year our Kaṇhēri inscription is dated, was also, most probably, as suggested by Bühler, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Puṣumāvi II himself, whose reign has been assigned to the first half of the second century A.D.<sup>31</sup> It will also follow from the above Myākadōni record, that the Sātavāhana emperor appointed his own daughter's son Skandanāga as the viceroy of the newly annexed province in the Bellary region.

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30. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 204-05.

31. *Ibid.* p. 204. Cf. *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 315.



## SRUGHNA OR SUGH : AN OLD CAPITAL OF ANCIENT PANJAB

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The second quarter of the millennium preceding the Christian era is important in the history of India for the attainments reached in this sub-continent not only in the field of religion and philosophy but also in politics, trade and technology. The states grew over their tribal character into large territorial units. The use of iron ushered in the historical era. The introduction of coinage gave a fresh impetus to trade and commerce. As a result, there grew a number of towns in the whole of North India. The most important of the towns which developed along the upper course of river Yamunā about this time is the *Srughna*,<sup>1</sup> being the *Su Lo kin na* of Hieun Tsang<sup>2</sup> and, perhaps, the *Turghna* of the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*,<sup>3</sup> identified by Cunningham in the ruins of the present Sugh village,<sup>4</sup> not far from the site of the Delhi Topra pillar edict of Aśoka.

The ancient mound of Sugh (30.9' N.lat. and 77.23' E.long.) lies at a distance of three miles to the east of Jagadhari in the Ambala district of the present state of Hariyana. It occupies a prominent position on an important North Indian route from upper Panjab into the Gangetic plains via Ambala, Saharanpur and Meerut, treaded alike by pilgrims and the invaders.<sup>5</sup> The ruins form a triangular spur along the western bank of the old course of Yamunā and extend over an area of approximately three and a half miles in circumference over which are located the present villages of Sugh,

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1. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Varanasi, 1963), p. 432.

2. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I, (London, 1904), pp. 317 ff.

3. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 169, 318.

4. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. II, p. 226.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 229. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



Dayalgarh and Amadapur. Most of the mound has been destroyed by cultivation or erosion and only the eastern crescent-shaped spur is preserved now.

Sugh was, for the first time, explored by Cunningham in the seventies of the 19th century, when silver and copper Punch-marked coins, and the coins of Tomara and Chauhan rulers were obtained.<sup>6</sup> But the archaeological potentialities of the old mound remained not fully known until recently when an excavation was undertaken at the site by the Ancient History and Culture Department of the Panjab University in January, 1964 and again in October, 1965. The present paper forms a brief summary of the results of the said excavation.

The excavation on the site revealed a maximum habitation deposit of 4 metres, divided into two cultural periods, I and II. Period I has further been sub-divided on ceramic grounds into two phases, I-A and I-B.

### Period I-A

This period is characterised by the occurrence of the Painted Grey Ware. The inferiority of the pottery, however, suggests the late phase of the industry. Along with this are associated the N.B.P. and fine grey wares which form the characteristic industries of the second half of the first millennium B. C.

The houses are made of mud-bricks. Both copper and iron are used for household tools, which are, however, limited in number. The ornaments from the phase include a few beads of copper, glass and terracotta. On the whole, this phase represents the formative stage of the town. It may be dated between *circa* 600 B.C. and 500 B.C.

### Period I-B

This sub-period is distinguished by the absence of the Painted Grey Ware. The N. B. P. and the grey wares continue to occur and suggest a continuity of occupation. By the richness of the finds and the developed art traditions, the phase marks the stage of efflorescence of the city. The houses are constructed of burnt bricks or rubble and provided with terracotta drain pipes. The use of ringwells and soakage jars attest to the advanced sense of

6. *Ibid.*, p. 230.



sanitation among the residents. Among the metals, copper and iron become profuse for household articles. Silver and gold are the other metals used. The Punch-marked coins of silver, silver coins of Menander and Antimachus, the Indo-Greek kings and uninscribed or inscribed copper-cast coins constitute the currency of the period. An interesting copper-cast coin bears the legend *Kadasa* (*Kalasya* in Sanskrit) in Mauryan characters comparable to the one illustrated from Taxila by Cunningham.<sup>7</sup>

A number of terracotta figurines, moulded as well as handmade, were recovered from this phase. The female figurines, which outnumber the male, generally represent the Mother-Goddess. The heavy ornamentation, nudity and the shallow relief of the plaques prepared out of mould depict the characteristic Śuṅga art traditions of the Gangetic valley so well known from the other contemporary sites of the *Madhya-Deśa*. Quite interesting is a plaque depicting a child having his first lessons on the alphabets on a wooden plate. The child is seated in a very natural pose.

In addition, there have been recovered a large number of terracotta animal figurines which include the bull, horse, lion, ram, monkey, dog, birds and elephant, the last being, by far, the most popular. The figurines are invariably hand-modelled. The elephants with prominent temples and slightly raised heads recall the Dhauli elephant<sup>8</sup> in its vigour and strength. The popularity of the elephant among the toys may suggest the proximity of the natural habitat of the animal and, for that reason, moister climatic conditions in the region in those days. Terracotta discs, balls, carts, chariots and wheels, many of which are decorated, comprise the other toys.

Among the household objects of the period are found the styli, arrow-heads, awls or knitting pins of bone, copper-antimony rods, iron nails, pestles, mullers and rotary querns of stone and a soap-stone casket. A bull-headed bottle-stopper of copper from this phase is a notable specimen of metal casting. The fondness of the people for ornaments is evinced by a variety of beads of semi-precious stones such as jasper, carnelian, agate, quartz, apatite, glass, bone and terracotta, bangles of shell, copper and terracotta and rings of

7. Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, (London, 1891), p. 62; Pl. II (Taxila), 22.

8. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The Age of Imperial Unity*, (Bombay, 1953), Pl. XIV, Fig. 30.



copper. On the whole, the material equipment of the phase has close resemblance to that of Hastinapur<sup>9</sup> and Rupar.<sup>10</sup> This phase may be dated on typological numismatic and palaeographic grounds from *circa* 500 B. C. to the 1st century B. C.

## Period II

This period is characterised by the absence of the N.B.P. and the grey wares. The red ware continues without any break in the tradition, indicating the continuity of occupation. The houses are constructed of burnt as well as mud bricks. The general orientation of the walls to the cardinal points suggest a planned layout of the town, though the limited area excavated precludes any details regarding the pattern of the city and the houses. Both iron and copper continue to be used for household and agricultural purposes, as in the earlier period. There have been found arrow-heads, axes, nails and rings of iron and antimony rods and pins of copper. Metal-working as a flourishing industry during the early centuries of the Christian era in this area is attested by the discovery of a large number of crucibles and copper and iron slags. It attests also to a long tradition of metal working in the surroundings of Jagadhari which is famous for its metal industry today.

The Kushana traditions of terracotta art are in their exuberance in the period. The human figurines are generally mould-made, while those of the animals are hand-modelled, as in the previous phase. The female figurines, which are more popular than the male, show rationalisation in ornamentation and drapery and exquisiteness in hair-styles. Some of the figurines have approximated the classical idiom in the delineation of an almost transparent drapery showing thin schematic ribs and the plastic quality of the limbs. The animal toys include elephants, bulls, horses and rams. The elephant is not as popular as in the previous period. Terracotta discs, carts, wheels, balls and marbles constitute the other toys for the children. But they are not much decorated now. Among the stone objects are found rotary querns, pestles and mullers of sandstone.

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9. B. B. Lal, 'Excavations at Hastinapur and other explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950-52', *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 and 11 (1954-55) 15-17.

10. Y. D. Sharma, 'Past patterns in living as unfolded by excavations at Rupar', *Lalit Kala*, Nos. 1 and 2 (1955-56) 121-24.



The ornaments are constituted of beads of semi-precious stones such as jasper, carnelian, agate and quartz, and terracotta ; bangles of shell, terracotta, glass and rings of copper continue to be liked in this period too. A comparable material equipment has been found from the other North Indian historical sites in this area, such as Kausambi,<sup>11</sup> Hastinapur, and Rupar.

The currency consisted of uninscribed copper-cast coins. By far the most interesting evidence from the site consists of two terracotta sealings from this period bearing early Gupta characters of the 3rd century A.D. One of the sealings records the name *Vyāghrarāja*, while the other, perhaps, bears the name of the town 'Sugh.....'<sup>12</sup> On numismatic, palaeographical and archaeological grounds this period may be dated between the first century B.C. and circa A.D. 300.

The story of the city after circa A.D. 300 has not been revealed by the spade. According to the testimony of Hieun Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, the city survived at least till the middle of the 7th century A.D. The discovery of the coins Chauhans and the Tomaras<sup>13</sup> from here may further stretch the life span of the city by three or four centuries. The absence of the material of this period from the excavations on this part of the mound is, perhaps, because of the partial desolation of the city as mentioned by Hieun Tsang.<sup>14</sup>

### Other structures in the area

During the excavations in January, 1964, the present writer noticed also ruins of several ancient structures in the suburbs of the site. The most interesting among them are a burnt-brick enclosure in the south-west of the site near the village Sugh and a *stūpa*-like structure at Chaneti.<sup>15</sup> The former is a rectangular enclosure measuring approximately 130×70 metres, the longer axis being east west. The walls of the enclosure which are now buried under sand, measured once at least six metres high and 0.76 metre wide.

11. G. R. Sharma, *The Excavations at Kausambi*, 1957-59, (Allahabad, 1960), pp. 46-86.

12. The sealings have been read by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

13. Alexander Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

14. Thomas Watters, *op. cit.*

15. *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1963-64, (Cyclostyled copy), p. 54.



The structure resembles a monastery, although its correct nature can be judged only by excavations. Hieun Tsang has referred to the existence of five monasteries at Sugh, one of which was located to the south-west of the city. Outside the eastern gate of this, stood a *stūpa* constructed by Aśoka to commemorate the spot where Lord Buddha had delivered his sermons.<sup>16</sup> No ruins of the *stūpa* could be traced near this structure so far.

The other structure noted above is located at Chaneti, a village about three kilometres to the north-west of the site of Sugh and about two kilometres to the north of the above monastery.<sup>17</sup> This dome-like structure, measuring approximately 20 metres in diameter and 8 metres in height, is a solid construction of burnt bricks (30×30×7 and 30×15×7 cms.). From the nature of its construction, the structure seems to be a *stūpa*; a smallscale digging will give a definite answer. Hieun Tsang refers to the existence of several *stūpas* enshrining the relics of the Buddha and other holy men, like Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. But, in the absence of any positive evidence, it is not safe to attempt any identification of the present *stūpa*. To assign it to Dhanabhūti (a doubtful figure)<sup>18</sup> can only be conjectural, for, the size or colour of the bricks are no sure grounds for dating a structure in Indian archaeology.

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16. Thomas Watters, *op. cit.*

17. On this see, Devendra Handa, 'A Mauryan Stūpa at Chaneti, Panjab', *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, 4 (1966) 75-79.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 79.



## BUDDHANĀTHA IMAGE FROM NAGARA

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There is a worn-out sandstone image known locally as Buddha-nātha on the Rabarivasa mound, at Nagara, Taluka Cambay, District Kaira, Gujarat State (Fig. 1). This image was noted in Gujarati literature for the first time by Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote in his book *Khambhat no itihāsa*,<sup>1</sup> where he mentioned it, following the local tradition, as an image of Buddha, without, however, advancing any arguments for its identification. This identification was generally accepted by later writers both in Gujarati and in English. In 1962 J. P. Amin, who made a study of Nagara,<sup>2</sup> contended, on the basis of a different tradition, that it was a Jain image. The present writer, who was, then, excavating at Nagara, took the opportunity of studying the image in detail and came to the conclusion that it was a sandstone image of Buddha, in *Dharmacakra-mudrā*.<sup>3</sup> If *Vajrayāna* terminology be applied to this image it could be identified as *Vairocana*. This identification was accepted by U. P. Shah, who also made a study of this image.<sup>4</sup>

Some doubts about the identification as above have been raised by K. F. Sompura in a recent monograph entitled 'Buddhist monuments in Gujarat'<sup>5</sup> where he endeavours to establish that the image in question is Jain. He argues: (1) The open palm of the left hand is clearly seen. (2) The right hand is in *varada-mudrā*. (3) The lions on the sides are *vāhanas*. (4) Therefore, the image is that of Ratnasambhava.

1. (In Gujarati), pp. 149-50.

2. J. P. Amin, 'Nagara, Khambhat of Pūrvaṃṛtti', (Gujarati), *J. Gujarat Res. Society*, (1962).

3. R. N. Mehta, 'Nagara ni Buddhernath ni pratima', *Svādhyāya*, I. iii. 323-25.

4. U. P. Shah, 'Gujarati mū Buddhēr dharma', (Gujarati), *Svādhyāya*, I. iii. 305.

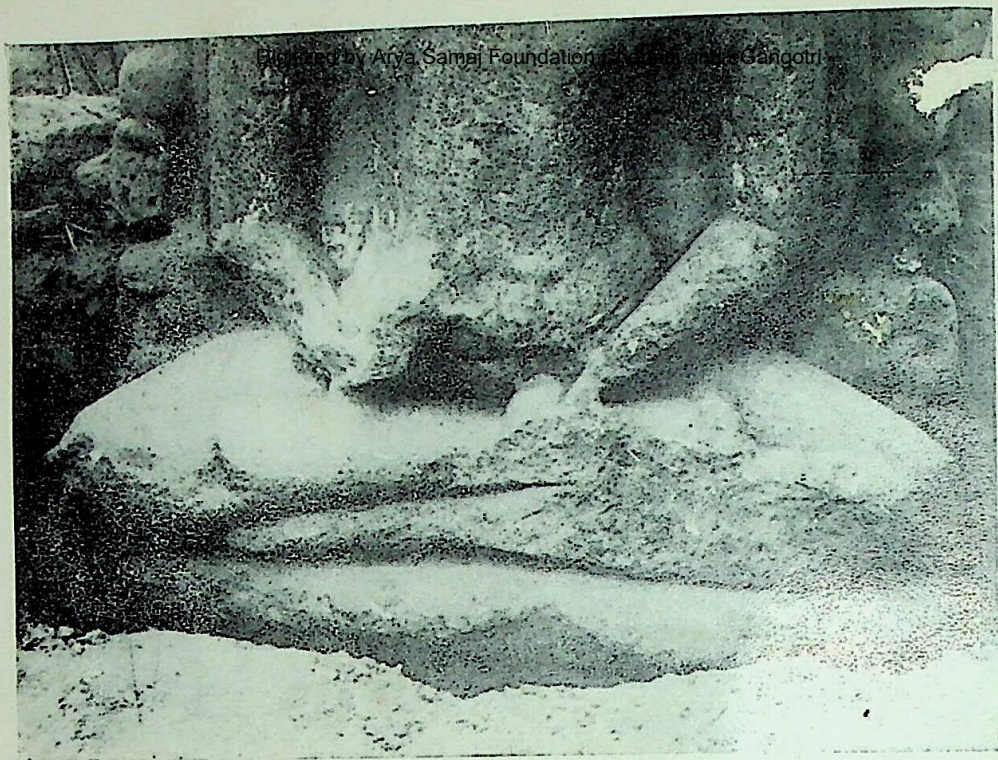
5. *V. I. Journal* 4 (1966) 230-63.





**Fig. 1 Buddhanatha sculpture, Nagara**





**Fig. 2. Lower part of Buddhanatha, Nagara**



**Fig. 3. Close-up of the right upraised palm**



Before dealing with these arguments it will be necessary to describe the image. This sandstone image (Fig. 1) is seated on a decorated seat, with a flat round base with the back elaborately carved. The seat depicts a central elliptical part flanked by round pillars and the lion-on-elephant motif. These pillars are surmounted by a horizontal beam on which rise the *makara motif* at both ends and a circular plain central part. On this seat the figure sits with the left leg tucked under the right leg and the right foot resting on the left leg. The figure is greatly worn out, but its *kambugriva sanghati*, covering both the shoulders, is still visible. The hands are by the side of the body, and are partly mutilated, but sufficient parts of the hands and the palms are still visible for necessary observation.

Now, considering the first point raised by K. F. Sompura, one can easily see that the wrist of the left hand is missing and near the point where the hand is broken rests the right foot with its heel and toes (Fig. 2). This foot is clearly visible and Sompura has probably misunderstood the foot as the open palm of the left hand. It is evident that he could not trace the parts of the palm of the left hand. A careful observation would reveal that near the left side of the naval of the image remnants of the palm do exist. These remains indicate that some of the fingers were extended and met those of the right hand (Figs. 1 and 2). These remains clearly point out that the wrist of the left hand was turned upwards and that a few fingers were extended so as to touch those of the other hand, to form a *mudra*, which, too, Sompura seems to have missed, giving rise to two mis-identifications by him: one, of the foot as the open palm of the left hand and, two, of the position of the left palm.

The second point raised by Sompura to the effect that the right hand of the image is in *varada-mudra* is also not correct. The wrist and the palm of this side of the figure are better preserved and hence one can easily observe that the palm is upraised (Fig. 3) and a few fingers of this hand meet the fingers of the left hand. It is evident that in this condition *varada-mudra* is impossible. *Varada-mudra* requires the open palm with fingers pointing downwards. This condition is not fulfilled by the image, as such there is no justification in saying that, here, we have *varada-mudra*.

While identifying the *mudra* of the image, the *vāhanas* also require careful consideration. As could be seen from the description given above and from Figs. 1 and 4, the lions rest on elephants. Depiction of the lion on the elephant is but a



common 'decorative' motif in Indian Art, and, as such, according to well-known canons, not considered as a *vāhana*. This would mean that the third point of Sompura does not arise at all. Sompura's identification of the image as Jain can, therefore, not be taken seriously.

As regards the *mudrā* of this image, it could be easily observed that when the fingers of both the upraised hands above the wrist touch one another, in Buddhist iconography *Dharmacakra-mudrā* could be inferred. The other *mudrās* of the Dhyāni Buddhas such as *Abhaya*, *Varada* etc. cannot be formed in this position. As such, the image can be said to present the *Dharmacakra mudrā*. Buddha figures in this *mudrā* are known from different parts of the Buddhist world, and they show a large variation in the actual place where the hands should rest in this *mudrā*. In the Buddhist literature, the Buddha figure with *Dharmacakra-mudrā* is identified as Vairocana. He was known in Tantric literature from at least 300 A.D. What was the name of this figure at Nagara cannot be identified from the local tradition in which he is known as Buddhanātha.

On the basis of these evidences, the image of Buddhanātha could be identified as that of Buddha in *Dharmacakra-mudrā*. If one adopts the Vajrayāna terminology, the image can be said to represent the Dhyāni-Buddha *Vairocana*.



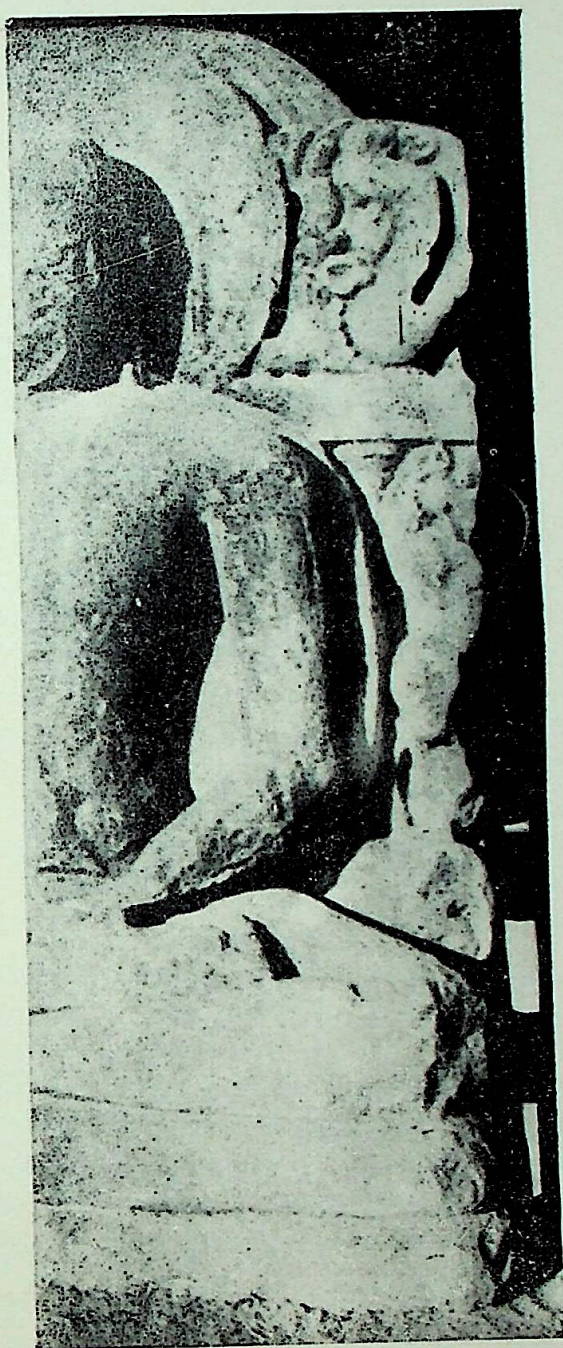


Fig. 4. Elephant-Lion Motif







## HISTORY OF SESAME IN INDIA AND ITS CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

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The history of cultivated plants, especially, when they have migrated from their original habitats to other regions of the world, is interwoven with the history and migrations of the different people who were responsible for their domestication and spread. Also, the impact of plants on man is so significant that the domestication of each crop created a demand for a necessary complementary element in human diet and culture. Consequently, the detailed accounts on the manifold uses of the cultivated plants need to be prepared for elucidating cultural histories in plant perspective. Twenty years ago, the late P. K. Gode<sup>1</sup> rightly pointed out that this aspect of Indological studies (history of plants) has almost been neglected by scholars in spite of the wealth of information available in Jain, Buddhist and Brāhmanical texts. He, also, published several papers on the history of plants in India.<sup>2</sup> His works have been a source of inspiration to the present writer in preparing the following account on the history of sesame, and he takes this opportunity to dedicate this paper to Dr. Gode as a permanent token of his high regard for him.

Sesame (*Sesamum indicum* L.) is referred<sup>3</sup> to as *se-gis-mi* in the clay tablets, beginning from the 3rd Dynasty of Ur (c. 2350 B.C.), and it seems that the words *semsen* and *simsin* (Arabic), *sesame* (Greek, English and French), *sesamum* (Latin), *sesam* (German), *sesamo* (Italian) and *susam* (Turkish) were derived from it (*se-gis-mi* to *se-sis-mi* to *se-sis-me* to sesame etc.). The Arabic word *al-juljulan* is pronounced in Spanish *al-joujolin* or *al-jonjoli*, and from it other names, e.g., *jougeoline* or *jugeoline* (French), *ginggiolono*, *ginggiolino*

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1. P. K. Gode, 'The plant lore of Ancient India', *Aryan Path*, 18 (1947) 1-4.

2. See his *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1961.

3. I. H. Burkill, 'Habits of man and the origin of the cultivated plants of the Old World', *Proc. Lin. Soc. Lond.*, vol. 164, 12, 1938.



and *zerzelino* (Italian), *girgelin* and *zirzelim* (Portuguese), and *gingelly* (English) could have been derived.

Sanskrit writers called sesame *Tila*. Other Indian names, like, *til* and *tilgachh* (Bengali), *varreekttil* (Dravidian), *tal* (Gujarati), *til*, *kale-til* and *tili* (Hindi), *tailangi* and *touvull* (Karnataka), *eḷḷu* (Malayalam) and *til*, *kale-til*, *chokhe til* (Marathi) seem to have been derived from *tila*. Sesame is called also *bijan*, *lenga* (Malayan), *wigen* (Javanease), *nga* (Siamease) and *kujadh* (Persian).

Some references to the use of sesame in ancient India have been cited by Om Prakash<sup>4</sup> and A. B. Joshi<sup>5</sup>. Several additional references were traced by the present writer during the last ten years and the available information is presented below in a historical ethno-botanical perspective.

#### ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORDS

##### Indus Valley civilization (3600 to 1750 B.C.)

A lump of charred sesame was obtained during the archaeological excavations conducted at Harappa.<sup>6</sup> It seems that sesame was cultivated by the Indus Valley people.

##### Khokhrakot mound

Sesame was also identified amongst the plant-remains obtained during the archaeological excavations conducted in Khokhrakot mound in Rohtak.<sup>7</sup> It seems that sesame was known to the Yaudheya tribes of the Bahudhanākā province of Northern India:

#### HISTORICAL RECORDS

##### Vedic period (before 800 B. C.)

The use of sesame as an article of food is mentioned in *Atharvaveda*<sup>8</sup> (2. 8. 3, 6. 140. 2, 10. 7. 3, 18. 3. 69, 4. 32), *Maitrayaṇi*

4. Om Prakash, *Food and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961.

5. A. B. Joshi, *Sesamum*, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Hyderabad, 1961.

6. S. Piggot, *Pre-historic India*, (Penguin Books, London, 1950), p. 153. See also M. S. Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, (2 vols., Calcutta, 1940), and R. E. M. Wheeler, *The Cambridge History of India—Supplement: The Indus Valley Civilization*, (Cambridge, 1953).

7. B. Sahni, Presidential address, *Proc.*, 25th Indian Science Congress Association, Calcutta, 1938.

8. Ed. R. Roth and W. D. Whitney, *Atharvaveda Samhitā*, (Berlin, 1856); Ed. S. D. Satavalekar, (Aundh, V. S. 1995); *Atharvaveda*, Tr. M. Bloomfield, (*SBE* 42, Oxford, 1897).



*Samhitā*<sup>9</sup> (4. 3. 2), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>10</sup> (1. 1. 3), *Taittirīya Samhitā*<sup>11</sup> (7. 2. 10. 2) and *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*<sup>12</sup> (18. 12).

Common preparations using sesame were a gruel (*Atharvaveda*, 4. 7. 3) and a porridge (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6. 4. 16).<sup>13</sup> We learn from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (9. 1. 3) and *Taittirīya Samhitā* (5. 4. 32) that a wild variety of sesame named *Jartika* was also used in preparing a porridge. It means that during this period both cultivated and wild sesame were used by the people.

*Tilodana*, a preparation of sesame and rice boiled in water, is mentioned in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (6. 4. 16) and *Śaṅkhayana Āraṇyaka* (12. 8).<sup>14</sup> Similarly, *Kṛsara*, a preparation of rice, milk and sesame is mentioned in *Atharvaveda* (5. 5) and *Śaḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa* (5. 2).<sup>15</sup> Also, the preparations of sesame and pulses, especially *māṣa* (*Phaseolus mungo* Roxb., Urd.), were commonly eaten during this period (*Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 6. 3. 13 and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 5. 10. 6).<sup>16</sup>

We learn from *Atharvaveda* (11. 8. 3, 12. 2. 54) that sesame stalks called *Tilapiñja* were used as fuel.

Sesame oil is not mentioned in *R̥gveda*, but it is referred to in *Atharvaveda* (1. 7. 2, 10. 136. 16) and *Śaṅkhayana Āraṇyaka* (11. 4). Thus, in India, more than 3000 years ago sesame was used as an article of food and for the extraction of oil.

9. *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, Ed. S. D. Satavalekar, (Aundh, V. S. 1998), *Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā*, Ed. Von Schroeder, (Leipzig, 1881-86).

10. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa and Harisvāmī, (Bombay, 1940), Ed. A. Weber, (London, 1885); Tr. J. Eggeling, (SBE, 12, 26 etc., Oxford, 1882, 1900).

11. *Taittirīya Samhitā*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa (Anandasrama, Poona, 1940); Ed. with the commentary of Mādhaba, (Calcutta, 1854-99).

12. *Vājasaneyī Samhitā*, with the commentary of Mahidhara, (Bombay, 1929); Ed. A. Weber, (London, 1852).

13. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, with the commentary of Śāyaṇa, (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 2012); Ed. and Tr. O. Bohtlingk, (Leipzig, 1839).

14. *Śaṅkhayana Āraṇyaka*, Ed. Friedlander, (Berlin, 1900) (I-II); E. B. Cowell, (Calcutta, 1861) (III-VI); A. B. Keith, (Oxford, 1909) (VII).

15. *Śaḍvīmśa Brāhmaṇa*, Tr. W. B. Bollee, (1956); Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, (Calcutta, 1881); Ed. H. F. Eelsingh, (Leyden, 1908).

16. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, (Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V. S. 2011); Ed. and Tr. O. Bohtlingk, (Leipzig, 1839).



**Sūtra period (800-300 B.C.)**

It is stated in the *Aṣṭādhyayī* of Pāṇini (5. 1. 7, 5. 2. 4)<sup>17</sup> that sesame oil was commonly used during this period. *Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra* (600-300 B.C.), (2. 8. 18-19)<sup>18</sup> recommends the use of sesame oil as a substitute for clarified butter.

Sesame had entered also into the social and religious life of the people since its use in *śrāddha* and other ceremonies is mentioned in several texts, e.g., *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra* (2. 7. 16-22), *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (1. 15. 3),<sup>19</sup> *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (2. 1. 6½, 11. 21),<sup>20</sup> *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (1. 16. 17) and *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra* (1. 7. 20, 2. 9. 6).<sup>21</sup>

Among the food preparations, *Kṛsara* continued to be eaten (*Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2. 4. 4, 9. 7; *Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra*, 2. 2. 2).<sup>22</sup> Another preparation of powdered sesame and *guḍa* (or sugar) called *Palala* is mentioned in the *Kāśikā* on *Aṣṭādhyayī* (6. 2. 135).

**Early Buddhist and Jain period (500-300 B.C.)**

The use of sesame as an article of food is mentioned in several early Buddhist and Jain texts, e.g., *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (2. 1. 527),<sup>23</sup> *Anguttara Nikāya* (1.130, 4.108),<sup>24</sup> *Bhagavatī Sūtra* (21.1)<sup>25</sup> *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra* (12.1),<sup>26</sup> *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya* (1. 828),<sup>27</sup> *Cullavagga* (1. 183, 4. 45),<sup>28</sup> *Jātakas* (1. 167, 195; 2. 248-49, 301, 325;

17. *Aṣṭādhyayī* of Pāṇini, Ed. D. K. Vidyaratna, (Calcutta, 1912). See also V.S. Agrawala, *Pāṇini kalīna Bhāratavarga* (H), (Benaras, 1955); V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, (Lucknow, 1953).

18. *Āpastamba-Dharma Sūtra*, 2 Parts, Ed. G. Buhler, (*Bombay Sans. Ser.*, Nos. 44, 50; 1892-94); Ed. with the commentary of Haradatta, (Benares, 1932).

19. *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, Ed. A. G. Stenzler, (Liepzig, 1864); Ed. Ravi Tirtha, (Adyar, Madras, 1944).

20. *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*, R. Shama Sastri, (Mysore, 1923).

21. *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, (Calcutta, 1936).

22. *Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra*, with the commentary of Rudraskanda, Ed. A. Mahadeva Sastri and L. Srinivasacharya, (Mysore, 1913).

23. *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, Ed. and Tr. H. Jacobi, (SBE 22, Oxford, 1884).

24. *Anguttara Nikāya*, E. Morris and E. Hardy, Parts I-IV, London, 1885-1900.

25. *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, Agamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1918-1919.

26. *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra*, Ed. Hastimalla Ajmer Amolaka Rsi, Hyderabad, 1920.

27. *Bṛhatkalpa Sūtra Bhāṣya*, Ed. Bhadrabāhu Svāmī, Atmanand Jain Granthamala, Bhavnagar, 1933-36.

28. *Cullavagga*, S.B.E. 20, Oxford.



3. 425, 503, 537, 553, 6. 325, 546),<sup>29</sup> *Nisītha Sūtra* (3. 18),<sup>30</sup> *Prajñāpana Sūtra* (1. 23-40),<sup>31</sup> *Samyutta Nikāya* (1. 170),<sup>32</sup> *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga* (2. 2),<sup>33</sup> *Thera Gāthā* (1. 927)<sup>34</sup> and *Vinayapiṭaka* (6. 16. 33-34).<sup>35</sup>

It is stated in *Cullavagga* (4. 45), *Jātakas* (1. 325, 340) and *Mahavagga* (6. 16. 34)<sup>36</sup> that sesame oil was commonly used by the poor during this period.

We learn from *Cullavagga* (1. 183), *Jātakas* (546), *Dhammapada* (2. 7. 5)<sup>37</sup> and *Ācārāṅga Sūtra* (1. 15. 132) that cakes prepared with sesame seed were much liked by the people. It is stated in *Cullavagga* (1. 183) that these cakes were so popular that once a monk specially requested a householder for it and later he had to express his regrets for doing so in the assembly of monks. Sesame powder (*Tilapiṭṭha*) and *Parpaṭas* (*Tilapappaḍa*) were also commonly used during this period (*Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, 2. 1. 527).

#### Maurya and Sunga period (300 B.C.—75 A.D.)

It is stated in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (300 B.C.—100 A.D.) (2. 15, 16, 18, 24)<sup>38</sup> that sesame seeds were extensively used as an article of food during this period. Sesame oil was also used for frying purposes (*Arthaśāstra*, 2. 15. 84) and it was even exported from India (McCrindle, p. 127, Strabo 15. 491 and *Indika* 15, 7).<sup>39</sup> It is interesting to note that Pliny alludes to the sesame oil as being exported from Sind to Europe by way of the Red Sea.<sup>40</sup> An anonymous Greek author, settled in Egypt, made a voyage to the Indian Coast

29. *Jātakas*, vol. I-VII, Ed. V. Fausboll, London, 1877.

30. *Nisītha Sūtra*, Ed. Amolaka Rṣi, Hyderabad, 1920.

31. *Prajñāpanā Sūtra*, Tr. Bhagvandas, Ahmedabad, V. S. 1991.

32. *Samyutta Nikāya*, Ed. Leon Feer, Parts I-VI, London, 1884-1904.

33. *Sūtra Kṛtāṅga*, Ed. Amolaka Rṣi, Hyderabad, 1920.

34. *Theragāthā*, N. K. Bhagwat, Bombay, 1939; *Theragāthā and Therīgāthā*, Ed. Oldenberg, London, 1883.

35. *Vinayapiṭaka*, Ed. Oldenberg, vol. I-V, London, 1879-1883. *Vinayapiṭaka*, (H), Rāhula Sāmkṛtyāyana, Mahabodhi Sabha, Benares, 1935.

36. *Mahavagga*, S.E.B. 17, Oxford, 1885.

37. *Dhammapada*, P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1934.

38. *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, Ed. Shamasastri, (Mysore, 1919); Udaivir Sastri, (Lahore, 1925).

39. J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, (Westminster, 1901); *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, (London, 1877); *The Indica of Megasthenes and Arrian*, (Calcutta, 1877).

40. See A. B. Joshi, fn. 5, *supra*.



about A.D. 80. He has left a record of Indian ports and merchandise in his work entitled *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*. In this account he refers to the export of large quantities of sesame oil from Gujarat.<sup>41</sup>

Among food preparations, *Kṛsara* continued to be used (*Arthaśāstra*, 2. 12. 5). Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.) refers to several preparations of sesame in his *Mahābhāṣya*.<sup>42</sup> He makes special mention of *Kṛsara* (8. 3. 59), *Palala* (1. 2. 39), *Śaṣkuli* (1. 1. 47) and *Tilodaka* (1. 4. 2).

It is stated in the *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*<sup>43</sup> (1st cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D.) that the rice cooked with sesame was used in the worship of God Vināyaka.

In the Jain Prākṛt work *Pauma-Cariya* (B.C. 200-300 A.D.) canto 33, verse 16,<sup>44</sup> a description of the country of Avanti, is given in which it is stated, that "there are seen scattered grams, sesame, *mūṅg*, beans and rice of many types, as well as old bulls lying down in many places."

#### **Epics and Manusmṛti (4th cent. B.C.—4th cent. A.D.)**

*Manusmṛti* (4. 75)<sup>45</sup> prohibits the use of sesame after sunset. By this time sesame had entered the social and religious life of the people, and it was offered to the forefathers during *Śrāddha* (*Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsana-Parva*, 66. 7, 88. 3, 68. 18, 136. 8; *Śānti-Parva*, 345. 16).<sup>46</sup> Sesame was also recommended for use at an Aśvamedha sacrifice (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Uttara-Kāṇḍa*, 91. 19).<sup>47</sup>

It is stated in the *Mahābhārata* (*Udyoga-Parva*, 49. 34) that the poor people commonly used sesame oil for frying purposes.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Edn. F. Kielhorn, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, vols. I-III, (Bombay, 1892-1906). See also B. N. Puri, *India in the time of Patañjali*, (Bombay, 1957).

43. *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, with the commentary of Aparāka, Ed. H. N. Apte, (An. SS. No. 46, Poona, 1904).

44. *Pauma-Cariya*, Ed. N. A. Gore and R. D. Laddu, (Poona, 1941).

45. *Manusmṛti*, Ed. G. N. Jha, (Calcutta, 1924-26); Tr. G. Bühler, (*SBE* 25, Oxford, 1886).

46. *Mahābhārata*, (Poona, 1929-1936). See also, V. S. Sukthankar, *Critical studies in the Mahābhārata*, (Sukthankar Memorial Edition, Vol. I. Bombay, 1944) and C. V. Vaidya, *Epic India*, (Bombay, 1907).

47. *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmiki, Ed. D. P. Sarma, (Allahabad, 1950); Tr. R. T. H. Griffith, 5 vols. (London, 1870-74).



Two sesame preparations, *Śaṣkuli* and *Kṛsara* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti*, 36. 33) and *Rāmayaṇa* (*Ayodhya*, 75. 30).

### Kuṣāṇa and Śaka Śātavāhana period (75 A.D.—300 A.D.)

Sesame oil was considered the best medium for cooking or frying, but the daily use of the oil was not recommended by the early medical texts, e.g., see *Caraka Saṁhitā* (1st or 2nd cent. A.D.) (1. 13. 12-18),<sup>48</sup> *Kaśyapa Saṁhitā* (2nd cent. B.C.—400 A.D.) (17. 9),<sup>49</sup> *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (4th cent. A.D.) (1. 45. 130)<sup>50</sup> and *Bhela Saṁhitā* (p. 49).<sup>51</sup>

It is stated in the *Bhela Saṁhitā* (p. 22) that several preparations of sesame were commonly used by the residents of Kamboja. *Caraka Saṁhitā* (1. 27. 265-66) refers to the delicious cakes prepared with fine rice or gram meal mixed with sesame and fried in sesame oil, whereas *Suśruta Saṁhitā* (1. 26. 346) refers to a porridge prepared with sesame, rice and *māṣa* pulse.

*Caraka Saṁhitā* (1. 27. 109) also refers to the use of sesame (stalks and leaves) as a vegetable.

It is stated in *Navanītaka* (2. 1)<sup>52</sup> that sesame was used as an ingredient of hair-dyes.

### Gupta period (c. 300—750 A.D.)

The use of sesame as an article of food is mentioned in several texts, e.g., Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam* (p. 94),<sup>53</sup> *Amarakośa* (500-800 A.D.) (2. 9. 7. 20),<sup>54</sup> *Aṅgavijjā* (c. 4th cent. A.D.) (p. 232),<sup>55</sup> *Divyāvadāna* (70. 27),<sup>56</sup> *Kamasūtra* (c. 450 A.D.) (4. 1. 33),<sup>57</sup>

48. *Caraka Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Cakrapāṇidatta, (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1941).

49. *Kaśyapa Saṁhitā*, Ed. Rajaguru Pandit Hemaraj of Nepal, (Benaras, 1953).

50. *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Dalhaṇa, (Bombay, 1938).

51. *Bhela Saṁhitā*, Ed. Ashutosh Mukherjee, (Calcutta, 1921).

52. *Nūvanītaka-Prakaraṇa*, II, A. F. R. Hoernle's Tr. of Bower MS., (Calcutta, 1893) pp. 164-66.

53. Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam*, Ed. M. R. Kale, (Bombay, 1957).

54. *Amarakośa*, with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmī, Ed. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, (Poona, 1941).

55. *Aṅgavijjā*, Ed. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, (Prākṛit Text Society, Varanasi, 1957).

56. *Divyāvadāna*, Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neill, (Cambridge, 1886).

57. *Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, Ed. Goswami Damodar Shastri, (Benares, 1929).



*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (29. 9. 11)<sup>58</sup> and *Vāyu Purāṇa* (3rd or 4th cent. A.D.) (5. 9, 8. 153-54).<sup>59</sup> Three varieties, viz., white, red and black, were commonly recognized in sesame (*Āṅgavijjā*, p. 232). Thus, during this period, the people were even familiar with the different varieties of sesame.

The *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* of Vāgbhaṭa I (c. 645 A.D.) (*Sūtrasthāna* 9)<sup>60</sup> and Beal's *Si-yu-ki* (before 750 A.D.) (1. 88)<sup>61</sup> refer to the common use of sesame oil and the former (6. 111) considered it the best among the oilseeds available during this period.

*Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha* (*Sūtra Sthāna*, 6) refers to the use of sesame in a condiment preparation called *Tilapinyākavikṛti*. It was also included in the food preparations called *Vikāla* (*Hiuen Tsang*, 605-648 A.D.) (Watters, p. 282)<sup>62</sup> and *Kṛsara* (*Matsya Purāṇa*, 268. 6. 30).<sup>63</sup> *Kūrma Purāṇa* (20 ; 22)<sup>64</sup> prohibits the use of sesame by the rich people during *śrāddha*, but permits the poor for this to do so. In a Jain Prākṛt work called *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (5th cent. A.D., verse 133)<sup>65</sup> belonging to the first stratum of the pre-canon of the Digambaras written by Jadivasaha, sesame is mentioned along with other food crops. In his *Brhatsamhita* (505 A.D.) the celebrated astronomer, Varāhamihira mentions<sup>66</sup> that a mixture of sesame, goat or sheep excreta, barley powder, beef and water should be poured around the roots of plants to promote inflorescence and fructification.

### Post-Gupta period (after 750 A.D.)

In the *Agni Purāṇa*<sup>67</sup> (800-900 A.D.), the following recipe is given for increasing the production of flowers and fruits in plants : "One should sprinkle ghee with cold milk, also a mixture of sesame, excreta of goats and sheep, barley powder, beef, put into water,

58. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Khemraj Śrīkrṣṇadas, (Bombay, 1967, V.S.).

59. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, Anandasrama, (Poona, Śaka, 1827). See also, D. R. Patil, *Cultural History from the Vāyu Purāṇa*, (Poona, 1946).

60. Vāgbhaṭa I, *Aṣṭāṅga Saṁgraha*, Tr. Atrideva Gupta, (Bombay, 1951).

61. Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, (London, 1916).

62. Watters, *Hiuen Tsiang's in India*, 3 vols., (London, 1904-5).

63. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Khemraj Śrīkrṣṇadas, (Bombay, 1980 V. S.)

64. *Kūrma Purāṇa*, Bibliotheca Indica, (Calcutta, 1950).

65. *Tiloyapaṇṇatti*, Ed. A. N. Upadhye and H. L. Jain, with Hindi Tr. Pt. Balchandra, (Sholapur, 1943).

66. Varāhamihira's *Brhat Samhita*, Ed. V. S. Sastri, (Bangalore, 1947).

67. *Agni Purāṇa*, (Anandasrama, Poona, 1900) collection.



and standing over for seven nights should be poured around the roots of plants."

In the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* (c. 850 A.D.),<sup>68</sup> the use of sesame oil as an ingredient of hair oils and dyes is recommended.

It is stated in the *Śukranīti*<sup>69</sup> that sesame oil was more commonly used for frying and cooking food articles during this period than in the earlier periods. Interestingly, the *Brahma Purāṇa* (900-1200 A.D.)<sup>70</sup> even permits the use of sesame oil in the *śrāddha*. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* (10th cent. A.D.) (8. 48)<sup>71</sup> refers to the use of sesame as an article of food. *Kṣīrasvāmī*<sup>72</sup> (c. 1050 A.D.), a commentator of *Amarakośa*, also refers to the common use of sesame as a foodgrain. Dalhaṇa (c. 1100 A.D.) (46. 382),<sup>73</sup> a commentator of *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, refers to *Tilavikṛti*, a preparation of sesame used as a dry vegetable.

Aparārka (c. 1100 A.D.), in his commentary on *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* that rice cooked with sesame called *Palaudana* is offered to God Vināyaka.

*Mānasollāsa*,<sup>74</sup> an encyclopaedic Sanskrit work composed by the Calukya king Someśvara (c. 1130 A.D.), mentions that the perfumes containing sesame were applied on the king's body during bath. It also states that the seeds of *Tila* were commonly perfumed with *Campaka* flowers and then pressed. The oil so prepared was used for *abhyāṅga*. *Mānasollāsa* mentions also that all sesame preparations should be avoided at night.

Parāśara (1266 A.D.) states in his *Kṛṣi-Saṁgraha*<sup>75</sup> that, "if the trees have their fruits destroyed, the pouring of cold water after being cooked together with *kulattha*, *māṣa*, *mudga*, other pulses, yava, and 'tila' would lead to the growth of flowers and fruits."

68. Vāgbhaṭa II, *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya*, Ed. Paradkar Shastri, (Bombay, 1939). Tr. Atrideva Gupta, (Benaras, 1950).

69. *Śukra-Nītisāra*, Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, (Calcutta, 1882). Tr. B. K. Sarkar, (*Sacred Books of the Hindus*, vol. 13, Allahabad, 1914).

70. *Brāhma Purāṇa*, Ed. H. N. Apte, (An. SS. 28, Poona, 1895).

71. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Ed. Jivananda Vidyasagara, (Calcutta, 1890).

72. *Kṣīrasvāmī's* commentary on the *Amarakośa*, Ed. H. D. Sharma and N. G. Sardesai, (Poona, 1941).

73. *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, with the commentary of Dalhaṇa, (Bombay, 1938).

74. Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa*, Ed. G. K. Shrigondekar, (GOS 84. Baroda, 1939).

75. Extracted in *Upavana-Vinoda*, Ed. and Tr. G. P. Majumdar, (Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1935).  
CC-0. Prashant Vrat Shastri Collection.



In the *Śārṅgadharma-Paddhati*,<sup>76</sup> an anthology compiled by Śārṅgadharma (1283-1301 A.D.), a courtier of king Hammira of Śākambhārīdeśa, the use of sesame as an article of food and a source of oil for cooking and frying is mentioned.

Marco Polo (1298 A.D.) states in his travels through Persia that, "there is no oil of olive but they extract it from the grain called sesame, which resembles the seeds of flax, excepting that it is light-coloured and the oil this yields is better and has more flavour than any other." Later in his travels he refers to the production of sesame oil in Abyssinia, Ceylon and the Malabar coast of India.<sup>77</sup>

Sesame is mentioned in *Vidhiprapā*,<sup>78</sup> a book on Jain rituals composed by Jinaprabhasūri (1307 A.D.) at Kosalānagara. It means that sesame had also entered into the religious ceremonies of the Jains.

King Madanapāla of Kāṣṭhā race, ruling on the banks of the river Jamuna, gives in his medical glossary called *Madana-nighaṇṭu*<sup>79</sup> (1374 A.D.) the properties of sesame oil. The seeds are considered to be diuretic, emollient, demulcent and laxative. They are especially useful in piles and constipation when taken in decoction or as sweetmeat. The decoction made from the leaves and roots of sesame is recommended for washing the hair and this is supposed to blacken them. The work also recommends the use of wild sesame for diuretic purposes and for healing the wounds. The oil from black, white and red sesame are considered to be best, medium and good, respectively. Narahari, in his medical glossary *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*<sup>80</sup> composed in Kashmir (c. 1450 A.D.), refers to the properties of sesame and recommends its use as a hair oil, a wound healer and a tonic. He also recommends sesame oil against cough, itching and several other diseases.

In the *Gaṅgavakyaṇṭi*<sup>81</sup> of queen Viśvāsa-Devī (15th cent. A.D.), wife of King Padam Singh of Mithilā, sesame is mentioned amongst the grains that may be offered by a pilgrim performing *śraddha* at a holy place.

76. *The Paddhati of Śārṅgadharma*, Ed. P. Peterson, (Bombay, 1888).

77. *Travels of Marco Polo*, Ed. T. W. Wright, (London, 1901).

78. Jinaprabhasūri, Ed. Muni Jinavijayaji, (N. S. Press, Bombay, 1941).

79. *Madananighaṇṭu*, Ed. Ashubodh, (Calcutta, 1902).

80. Narahari's *Rāja-nighaṇṭu*, (Poona, 1896).

81. Viśvāsa Devī's *Gaṅgavakyaṇṭi*, Ed. B. Chandra, (Calcutta, 1940).



Bhāvamiśra<sup>82</sup> (c. 1550 A.D.), in his medical treatise called *Bhāvaprakāśa*, describes the properties of sesame as good for hair, skin, teeth and a general tonic. He recommends its use against cough, itching and several other diseases.

The Maratha historian V. K. Rajawade, has, in an article entitled 'Dāmāji Panta and Viṭhyā Mahār', reproduced a Marathi document about which we are told that the original was written during the days of Bedar empire. This document revised in 1641 A.D. mentions sesame along with other crops grown in the Maratha country.<sup>83</sup>

Dhūṇḍirāja (c. 1690-1700 A. D.), mentions in his *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī*, the large scale cultivation of sesame in Bengal.<sup>84</sup>

Francis Buchanan (1811-12 A. D.), in his *Patna—Gaya Report*, refers to the use of sesame oil in the making of perfumes at Patna. He also refers to the use of sesame oil in preparing the chambeli oil from *Jasminum grandiflorum*.<sup>85</sup>

*Bṛhad-gārgīya-saṁhitā* (1825 A.D.) contains a chapter on *tulakośa*, in which sesame is mentioned along with other grain crops.<sup>86</sup>

In *Hobson-Jobson*, compiled by Yule and Burnell (1903 A. D.),<sup>87</sup> the following information is given on sesame and its cultivation based on the observations of European travellers :

- 1510 – "Much grain grows here (at Zeila).....oil is in great antiquity, made not from olives, but from *zerzalino*..."  
...Varthema, 86.
- 1552— "There is a great amount of *gergelim*.". Castanheda, 24.
- 1554— "...oil of *jergelim* and *quoquo* (coco)...Botelho, Tombo.
- 1599 – "Oyle of *zerzeline*, which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eat, or to fry fish withal." (c. Fredericke, ii, 358).

82. *Bhāvaprakāśa-nighaṇṭu*, Ed. V. N. Dwiwedi, (Benaras, 1954).

83. V. K. Rajawade, in *Caturtha-Sammelana-Vṛtta*, (Bhārata Itihasa-Saṁshodhak Mandal, Poona, 1916).

84. *Gīrvāṇapadamāñjarī* of Dhūṇḍirāja ; *vide* folios 13-18 of MS. No. 21 of 1919-24 in Government Mss. Library, B. O. R. Institute, Poona. Also, see P. K. Gode's article in *Indian Culture*, 12 (1945) 47-56.

85. *Patna-Gaya Report* of Francis Buchanan, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, 1811-12.

86. *Bṛhad-gārgīya Saṁhitā*, MS. No. 542 of the B. O. R. Institute, Poona.

87. *Hobson-Jobson*, by H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, 2nd Edition, Ed. Wm. Crooke, (London, 1903). CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



- 1606— "They performed certain anointings of the whole body, when they baptized, with oil of ccco-nut, or of *gergelim*" ...Gouvea, f. 39.
- c. 1638— "Mr. Whiteway notes that" in a letter of Amra Rodriguez to the king, of Nov. 30 (India office MSS. book of the Monssons, vol. IV) he says "from Masulipatam to the farthest point of the Bay of Bengal runs the coast which we call that of *gergilim*. They got *gingeli* thence, I suppose."
- c. 1661— "La gente piu bassa adopra un' altro olio di certo seme detto Telselin, che e una spezie del di setamo, ed e alquanto amaroguolo"...Viag. del P. Gio Grueber, in Thevenot Voyages Divers.
- 1673— "Dragmes de Soussamo qu graine de *Georgeline*"—app. to Journal D'Ant. Galland, ii, 206.
- 1675— "Also much oil of *sesamos* or *jujoline* is there expressed, and exported thence"—T. Heiden, Vervaernlyke Schipbreuk, 81.
- 1726— "From Orixia are imported hither (Pulecat), with much profit, Paddy, also...*Gingeli* seed oil." Valentijn, Chor. 14.
- 1807— "The oil chiefly used here, both for food and unguent, is that of *sesamum*, by the English called *Gingeli*, or sweet oil." F. Buchanan—Mysore etc.
- 1874— "We know not the origin of the word *Gingeli*, which Roxburgh remarks was (as it is now) in common use among the Europeans." Hansbury and Fluckiger, 426.
- 1875— "Oils, *Jingili* or *til*". Table of Custom Duties, imposed on imports into British India up to 1875."

Historical, philological, botanical and ethnographical evidences suggest the possibility of an independent origin of agriculture (c. 5000 B. C.) in Africa.<sup>88</sup> Murdock proposed that it happened in an area lying near the headwaters of the Niger river and believed that Mande people were the first to domesticate sesame.<sup>89</sup> Botanical evidences also suggest that sesame originated in Africa.<sup>90</sup> Once domesticated

88. See G. P. Murdock, *Africa: Its People and their Culture History*, (New York, 1959); Edgar Anderson, in *Evolution after Darwin*, (Chicago University Press, Chicago, vol. 2, 1960).

89. *Ibid.*

90. See A. B. Joshi, *Sesamum*, op. cit., fn. 5.



there, sesame spread to Ethiopia, where agriculture was practised, especially by the Agau people, by the third millennium B. C.<sup>91</sup> There is also evidence in favour of Neolithic agriculture in East Africa since the Gumban culture of Kenya had stone bowls, mortars and grinding stones (c. 3rd millennium B. C.).<sup>92</sup>

Extensive researches conducted on the race-cum-language culture sequence have shown that the earliest waves of human migrants to India were negroids from Africa.<sup>93</sup> Also, human skeletons showing Hamitic-negroid features have been found associated with Langhnaj (Gujarat) microlithic cultures.<sup>94</sup> The early African migrants were perhaps familiar with the culture and/or use of sesame by the time they arrived in India *via* the Sabaeen Lane. The recovery of a lump of charred sesame at Harappa (c. 3600-1750 B. C.)<sup>95</sup> suggests that perhaps it was cultivated by the Indus Valley people who are likely to have received it from the African migrants. There was also trade between the East African coast and the Arabian state of Ausan prior to 700 B. C.<sup>96</sup> and sesame is specifically mentioned as an object of Red Sea trade in the 4th century B. C.<sup>97</sup> Botanical evidences are also available in support of an early spread of sesame from Africa to India *via* the Sabaeen Lane.<sup>98</sup> Thus, sesame was probably brought into India prior to the arrival of the Aryans (in India) since it has been found during the archaeological excavations conducted at Harappa. In Sumer, sesame was frequently mentioned as *Se-gis-mi* in the clay tablets, beginning from the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2350 B. C.) as read by Campbell Thompson.<sup>99</sup> It was perhaps introduced there either directly from Africa or through India, since

91. See Murdock, *op. cit.*

92. L. S. B. Leakey, *The Stone Age Cultures of Kenya Colony*, (Cambridge, 1931).

93. S. K. Chatterji, *Race movements and Pre-historic Culture in the History and Culture of the Indian People : The Vedic Age*, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1951).

94. H. D. Sankalia, 'From food collection to urbanization in India', in *Indian Anthropology*, (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962).

95. See Piggot, Vats, Wheeler, *op. cit.*, fn. 6, *supra*.

96. S. Cole, *The Pre-history of East Africa*, (Penguin Books, London, 1954).

97. P. M. Zukovskij, *Cultivated Plants and their wild relatives*, Tr. from Russian by P. S. Hudson, (Bucks, U. K., 1962).

98. See Murdock and Anderson, *op. cit.*, fn. 88, *supra*.

99. Mentioned by Burkhill, *op. cit.*, fn. 3, *supra*.



both Lothal and Mohenjo-daro people had trade relations with the Sumerians.<sup>100</sup> Archaeological evidences have also revealed that perhaps sesame was cultivated in Palestine and Syria during the chalcolithic period (c. 3000 B.C.)<sup>101</sup> and in Babylon during the reign of Hammurabi, the seventh and most important king of Amorite dynasty (c. 1750 B. C.).<sup>102</sup> It was also extensively cultivated in Assyria (c. 1500 B. C.) and Iran (c. 400 B.C.)<sup>103</sup> and spread early to China from India (c. 450 B. C.).<sup>104</sup>

De Candolle proposed that the Semetics, who received sesame from Babylonia, introduced it into Egypt after the epoch of the Great Monuments and exodus,<sup>105</sup> but Burkill pointed out that the first evidence of its cultivation in Egypt is dated from 1300 B. C. or about the time of the expulsion of Israelites.<sup>106</sup> Although De Candolle found no mention of sesame in the *Old Testament*,<sup>107</sup> Watt quotes Flükiger and Hansbury who traced several references to it in the medical text called *Papyrus Ebers* (16th cent. B. C.) and the *Old Testament*.<sup>108</sup> Zukovshij refers to the frequent mention of sesame in the works of Herodotus, Xenophanes, Theophratus and Pliny.<sup>109</sup>

The Aryan migrants seem to have known sesame prior to their arrival in India since it is mentioned in their religious ceremonies, especially *śrāddha*. In the writer's opinion, a crop like sesame, used in *śrāddha* or *pitṛyajña* is likely to have had a longer association with the Aryans than those crops which are either prohibited or not used in such ceremonies. The use of sesame in preparing a wide variety of food preparations in the Vedic period would suggest that in the beginning the Aryans used sesame mainly as an article of food. They

100. See Piggot, Vats, Wheeler, *op cit.*, fn. 6. *supra*.

101. W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, (Pelican books, London, 1956).

102. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, (Heidelberg, 1920).

103. R. O. Whyte, in *A History of land-use in arid regions*, Ed. L. D. Stamp, (U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris, 1961).

104. D. G. Langham, 'Potentialities of sesame as a commercial crop', *Agri. Amer.*, U. S. A., 1947.

105. A. P. De Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, (London, 1886).

106. I. H. Burkill, 'Habits of man and the origins of the cultivated plants of the Old World', *Proc. Lin. Soc.*, London, vol. 164, (1953).

107. See above, fn. 105.

108. G. Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, vol. 6., (Calcutta, 1893).

109. P. M. Zukovskij, *op cit.*, fn. 97. *supra*.



seem to have used ghee for cooking and frying purposes in the beginning and later on borrowed the use of sesame oil from the non-Aryans. In this connection, the following cultural context is worth considering. In the whole of North India, the oil presses used for the extraction of sesame oil have a channel through which the oil trickles out as the seeds are pressed. In South India, on the other hand, the presses generally have no outlet for the oil. The mortar is removed after the expulsion of the oil. The oil is ladled out and eventually wiped off with rags tied to the end of a stick. Interestingly, when the northern type is used in the south, the channel is first plugged. After the seed is sufficiently pressed, the plug is removed and the oil is drained out. Thus, the operation is of the south while the machine is from the north. The presence of two distinct types of oil presses would indicate two separate cultural contexts.

The above account shows that in India, much before the Christian era, sesame was used for manifold purposes. In fact, it was so much accepted in ancient Indian culture that it was even used in *śraiddha* and other religious ceremonies. Botanical evidences suggest that sesame was first domesticated in Africa, from where it spread early to India *via* the Sabaeen Lane. Once grown in India, sesame enriched Indian diet and cookery to such an extent that many of us hardly feel that it came from Africa. From Africa, its original home, it spread to India, China and West Asia and its spread is closely connected with the cultural histories of these places (countries). It would be of interest to record chronologically information on the use of sesame in Africa and Asia outside India. Such studies would elucidate whether the manifold uses of sesame were actually discovered in India or these (or some of them) were borrowed from other countries. It is also to be hoped that such studies would help to unravel the inter-cultural contacts during the pre-historic times.<sup>110</sup>

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110. The author of this paper would be thankful to his readers for sending him any data, not covered in this note, on the use of sesame in India and abroad which have come to their notice, especially of the datable type.



## OBITUARY NOTICES

PROF. LOUIS RENOU

(1896-1966)

Professor Louis Renou, the well-known French Indologist and Vedic scholar passed away suddenly on the 17th of August 1966. Not only was the news a great shock to his friends, but was also a subject of immense sadness to all Indological scholars.

For nearly half a century, Professor Renou had been devoting his life to research in Indology. When, in 1920, he had completed his classical studies, he was introduced to Meillet, the famous scholar of comparative studies, by his friend and later colleague, Professor Emile Benveniste, linguist and Iranologist, and to Sylvain Lévi by Professor Miss Marcelle Lalou, Tibetologist. Under Meillet, Renou studied the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages and under Sylvain Lévi studied Sanskrit and general Indology. Sylvain Lévi was a universal Indologist who cultivated all branches of Indian studies, working not only on India but also on Central Asia, Tibet, China and South-East Asia, mainly under the influence of Abel Bergaigne, author of *La Religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rgveda*. Sylvain Lévi, in his turn, was eager to have the work of Bergaigne on the Veda resumed by some of his pupils. This resulted in Louis Renou taking up, along with Jules Bloch and Alfred Foucher, the twin fields of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit lore.

In 1925 Renou submitted to the University of Paris his two Doctorate Theses, the first on the 'Perfect tense in the Vedic Hymns' (*La valeur du parfait dans les hymnes védiques*) and the second, a critical edition in Greek, together with a French translation, of the chapter on India in the Geography of Ptolemy. In 1928 he submitted another thesis to the École pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, on the 'Masters of Vedic philology', being a historical and critical study on the methods and achievements in the interpretation of the Veda.

Since this time, he carried on, alongside, throughout his career his researches both in Vedic literature and Classical Sanskrit culture. Simultaneously with his early works on the Veda, he brought out also a French translation of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (1927). When the hand of death snatched him away, he was busy with the preparation of a new translation of the *Rgveda* and with the publication of his



translation of the *Kaśikāvṛtti* prepared in collaboration with Professor Ojihara of Japan.

The more important of Prof. Renou's works in the Vedic field are : *Bibliographie védique* (1931), *Vṛtra et Verethragna* in collaboration with E. Benveniste (1934), *Les Écoles védiques* ('Vedic schools and the formation of the Veda,' 1947), *Grammaire de la langue védique* (1952), *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (1954), and *Études sur le vocabulaire du R̥gveda* ('Studies on the vocabulary of the R̥gveda, 1958). Besides these, he translated several Upaniṣads and contributed numerous articles. His *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes* is a series of books on Vedic and Pāṇinian studies.

In the classical field, he mastered the Sanskrit grammar through both the modern and traditional methods. He compiled a *Grammaire sanskrite* (1930, re-edited 1965) which is a full description of the Sanskrit language in all its aspects, *Histoire de la langue Sanskrite* (1956) ('History of the Sanskrit language') and several studies on grammatical topics. He contributed also to the revision of Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*. On Vyākaraṇa he published an edition and translation of Śaraṇadeva's *Durghaṭavṛtti* (1942), and of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* (1948) long before the first volume of the *Kaśikāvṛtti* (1960). But his main work in this field is *Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrit* (1942) which is a dictionary of Sanskrit grammatical terms.

Professor Renou worked also on Alamkāraśāstra and Sāhitya, in which in collaboration with Nadine Stohoupek, he produced a French translation of Rājasekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (1946). Following his translation of the *Raghuvamśa* (1926) he took up and completed (1929) the translation of Budhasvāmin's *Br̥hatkathāśloka-saṃgraha* which had been left unfinished by F. Lacôte. His translation of *Vetalapañcaviṃśatikā* appeared in 1963. He also published a new version of the beginning of the *Śaṅkara-bhāṣya*.

Prof. Renou has to his credit several works on Sanskrit literature, Hinduism and other world religions, written for students and beginners of Sanskrit. In collaboration with others he produced a *Manual of Indian studies*, *Inde classique* and a *Dictionnaire sanskrit-français*. Outside the field of Sanskrit, he translated from Pāli into French the first three *suttas* of the *Dighanikaya*.

Prof. Renou first occupied the Chair for Sanskrit at the Lyons University, whence he went to Paris as Director of Sanskrit Studies at the École pratique des Hautes Études and, later, succeeded Alfred



Foucher in the Chair of Sanskrit at the Faculty of Letters (Sorbonne). Since 1946 he was a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* of the *Institute de France*.

During his career Prof. Renou had the opportunity to visit Asia, twice. First he toured India extensively, visiting Indian centres of learning and meeting Indian Indologists. Later, he spent some time in Japan as Director of the *Maison franco-japonaise*. He was also, for a time, Visiting Professor at the Yale University. But his main place of work was the *Institute Civilisation indienne* at Paris where he delivered his lectures, taught students and worked with friends who are now mourning his loss.

J. FILLIOZAT

*Professor of Sanskrit, College de France, Paris*

PROF. DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA

(1899–1965)

Prof. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya came of an orthodox Brahman family of Eastern Bengal. He had his early education in indigenous *ṭols* or *pāṭhaśālās* where he studied on traditional lines. He joined an English School after he passed the title examinations in *Kāvya* (1912), *Saṃkhya* (1914) and *Purāṇa* (1916), securing the titles 'Kāvyatīrtha', 'Sāṃkhyatīrtha' and 'Purāṇatīrtha'. He passed the Matriculation examination of the Calcutta University in the year 1917 and took his M.A. in the Veda group of the same university in 1923.

After finishing his collegiate career, he joined the teaching profession as Lecturer in Sanskrit, Narasing Datta College of Howrah, near Calcutta. Therefrom he moved to his *alma mater*, the Scottish Church College, which he served for about twentyfive years. In 1952 he was appointed Professor of Vedic Language, Literature and Culture in the Department of Post-Graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, where his term of service was renewed more than once: he continued in the post till his death in November 1965.

Early in his life Prof. Bhattacharyya came into close contact with a number of reputed scholars and their scholarly activities and imbibed the spirit of critical study and research. He was, for long, connected with the editorial department of the reputed Indological journal, the *Indian Historical Quarterly*. He was actively associated



also with premier scholarly institutions of Calcutta like the Asiatic Society, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat and the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat. His learned contributions which were highly appreciated by the world of scholars earned for him honours from different quarters. He was awarded the 'P. V. Kane Gold Medal' by the Asiatic Society, Bombay, and the 'B. C. Law Gold Medal' by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta which also elected him as one of its Fellows. The All-India Oriental Conference invited him to preside over the Vedic Section of its 20th Session in Srinagar in 1961.

The scholarly output of Prof. Bhattacharyya comprised a good number of papers in Bengali and English contributed to various Indological journals, besides critical editions of several old Sanskrit texts generally pertaining to the contribution of Bengal to Vedic exegesis, e.g., *Chāndogya-mantrabhāṣya* of Guṇaviṣṇu (1930), *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa* with the commentaries of Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa (1958), and *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* of Halāyudha (1960). His outstanding work was the discovery of Brahmans in Orissa still following the Paippalāda School of the *Atharvaveda* who were preserving its text which was believed to have been lost. He undertook to edit critically the *Paippalāda-Saṃhita* on the basis of a comparison of the available defective and incomplete printed text and the manuscripts he had collected from Orissa. He could see the publication of a part of the edition covering Kāṇḍa I (1964) and the printing of a portion of Kāṇḍa II. The expeditious completion of the printing and early publication of the remaining part of the work which is in the press would be the fitting commemoration that the Calcutta Sanskrit College could pay to this veteran scholar who died in harness.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

Secretary, Asiatic Society, Calcutta

PROF. D. D. KOSAMBI

(1907—1966)

The untimely death on 29.6.1966 of Prof. D. D. Kosambi at the age of 59 is a serious loss to many fields of knowledge. He was the only son of Dharmanand Kosambi, the renowned Buddhist scholar, and was born on July 31, 1907. At the age of 11, he went to U. S. A. and studied in the Cambridge Latin School and Harvard University. He had a quick mind, an almost Macaulayan memory and the ability



to grasp quickly the fundamentals of any subject. As a mathematics undergraduate at Harvard, he exhausted the syllabus in two years and spent the remaining two years in exploring other subjects. On return to India, he joined the Banaras Hindu University in 1929 and then went to the Aligarh Muslim University. He left that University in 1932 and joined the Fergusson College, Poona, where he worked till 1946. In that year, he joined the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, as the Head of the Department of Statistics and retired in 1962. Since 1964, he was a Member of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and Scientist Emeritus.

Prof. Kosambi was primarily a mathematician and statistician and in these fields, made his reputation for the development of the 'Geometrical Method' and 'Kosambi Theorem in Genetics'. But he was equally known as a versatile linguist, Sanskrit litterateur, historian, numismatist and archaeologist. He knew Sanskrit, Ardha-māgadhī, Pāli, French, German, Italian, Latin and five other languages. In Sanskrit studies, one of his important achievements was the preparation of definitive editions of the works of Bhartṛhari under the titles—*The Śatakatrayam of Bhartṛhari* (1945) and *The Epigrams attributed to Bhartṛhari* (1948). He edited also the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* of Vidyākara, the earliest known general anthology of classical Sanskrit verse (1957).

As a historian, Prof. Kosambi has to his credit *The Introduction to the study of Indian History* (1956) and *The Culture and civilization of Ancient India* (in historical outline) (1965). Besides these two books, he wrote a number of valuable articles on matters relating to Ancient Indian history. In the field of numismatics, Prof. Kosambi introduced statistics for the study of the chronology of various types and varieties of the Punch-marked coins, the earliest coinage of India. He wrote about a dozen papers on this subject based on the data available from various hoards. As an archaeologist, he explored Maharashtra in his own way and collected artifacts. On the basis of his explorations, he published several articles in *Man*. His contributions in the form of papers, relating to various fields of his interest and researches are no less than 140 in number. Just two days before his death, he had sent to his publisher the manuscript of his last book, *Prime Numbers*.

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA

Curator, Govt. Museum, Patna



PROF. T. N. SREEKANTAIAH

(1906—1966)

An epitome of Prof. T. N. Sreekantaiah's life would be 'a soul striving hard to shut itself out from sources of aggrandizement and dedicate itself to an all out assimilation and dissemination of knowledge'.

Born on 26. 11. 1906, at Tirthapura, a village in Tumkur District, Mysore State, in a pious middle-class family, the young Sreekantaiah spent his primary and middle school days as a bright but shy boy. His latent genius manifested itself when during his high school days he composed verses in English and Kannada for his school journal *The School-Folk*.

In 1923, he joined the Maharaja's College, Mysore, where he studied under eminent Professors like M. Hiriyanna, J. C. Rollo and B. M. Srikantaiah and graduated with the unprecedented distinction of winning six medals. This event posed a problem for him as every Professor wanted him for his M.A. course but at last Srikantaiah joined the M.A. in Kannada and, later on, M.A. in English. Time was not ripe for the magnetism of Indian languages to catch the imagination of the common man. This budding scholar was then forced to take the Mysore Civil Service Examination and enter the Mysore Administrative Service as an Amildar at Srirangapatna. but was weaned away to academic life, a little later, when he was appointed Lecturer in Kannada in the Intermediate College, Mysore, in August 1928. When he retired as Professor of Kannada in the Mysore University in 1951, he was called to nurture to shape the Kannada Department of the newly started Karnatak University, Dharwar, where he served till 1957. For some time (1955-56) he was a Visiting Professor in the U. S. and the U. K. As a devotee at the shrine of learning Prof. Sreekantaiah struggled hard to do justice to his profession with unmitigated zeal and warmth. Quite a good number of vistas were open to him. Whatever he imbibed or inherited he gave expression to by way of either a talk or a well thought-out article.

His writings include : *Kāvya Samikṣe*, being a collection of essays on Kannada poets like Lakṣmīśa, Janna, Nāraṇappa and Mahādeviyakka ; *Pampa*, being a literary study on that greatest of Kannada poets ; *Nambiyanna Ragale*, an edition of that important



work of the Ragale class of poetry in Kannada; *Gadāyuddha Saṅgraha Samalokana*, being a critical survey of the work of poet Ranna; *Kannada Madhyama-Vyakarana*, on Kannada grammar, and a critical estimate of the Kannada Literature and metre. His most important work is the *Bhāratīya Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, a lucid and comprehensive book in Kannada on Indian poetics. Of the State-sponsored *Kannada Encyclopaedia*, he laid down, as Chairman of its Editorial Committee (1960-65), its outlines and started its work. The All-India Oriental Conference honoured him by electing him as the President of its Dravidic Studies Section at its 19th Session held in 1957 at Delhi. He played a leading role at the All-India Linguistic Meet convened at Delhi in 1960. He also served effectively as a Member of the All-India Technical Terms Committee.

G. MARULASIDDIAH

Director, Or. Res. Institute, Mysore

DR. S. K. BELVALKAR

(1880-1967)

Oriental scholarship lost in the death of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar at Poona on January 8, 1967, at the age of 87, an eminent scholar of international repute, who had been in the field of Indological studies for over half a century. The loss is severe, understandably enough, to the large number of his students, colleagues, friends and admirers.

Shripad Krishna Belvalkar was born on the 12th December, 1880 in the village of Narasobachi (Kolhapur Dt., Maharashtra) and pursued his collegiate career in the Deccan College, Poona, where he distinguished himself in many ways. A recipient of coveted scholarships, prizes and medals, he took his Master's Degree in three different subjects: English and Sanskrit (1904), History and Politics (1905) and Greek and European Philosophy (1910). Belvalkar's dream of pursuing a career of Indological studies and research took shape when he joined his *alma mater* in 1908 as the Curator of its Manuscripts Library. During the three years that Belvalkar occupied this post, he produced three important books: *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, which secured for him the V. N. Mandlik Gold Medal in 1908 (pub. 1915) and two volumes of the *Descriptive Catalogue of the (Bombay) Government Collection of Manuscripts*, Vol. I, *Veda* (Pt. i, pub. 1916) and Vol. II, *Grammar* (Pt. i, pub. 1938).



The scholarly assistance that Belvalkar rendered to Professor J. H. Woods of the Harvard University, who was then working at Poona on the *Yogasūtras of Patañjali*, induced Prof. Woods to invite Belvalkar to Harvard as a research scholar. Accordingly, Belvalkar worked at Harvard under Professor Charles R. Lanman from 1912 and received his Ph. D. Degree in 1914 on a Critical Edition, Study and Translation of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, the Translation Volume of which was issued in the *Harvard Oriental Series* as No. 21 (1915). On board of the ship, which carried him back to India, he rendered the drama also into Marathi (Poona, 1915). The Sanskrit edition came out later (Poona, 1921).

On his return from Harvard, Dr. Belvalkar was called upon to head the Department of Sanskrit in the Deccan College, which office he held with distinction for 18 years, till 1933. From then on till 1943 he occupied the Chair of Sanskrit in the Banaras Hindu University. Most of Belvalkar's major writings appeared during this period : *Kāvyaadarśa* of Daṇḍin, Edited and Translated (Poona, 1924), *Brahmasūtra*, II: i-ii, with *Śaṅkara-Bhaṣya*, Edited with Translation and Notes (Poona, 1923), *Four Minor Unpublished Upaniṣadic Texts* Edited with Translation (AIOC, Madras, 1923), *Prthvirajavijaya-Mahakāvya* with the commentary of Jonarāja (Calcutta, 1912-1924), *Basu Mallik Lectures on the Vedānta Philosophy* (Calcutta, 1929). On the ambitious project of an 8-volume *History of Indian Philosophy*, planned in collaboration with Dr. R. D. Ranade, Dr. Belvalkar prepared Vol. II on *The Creative Period* (Poona, 1927).

Two works dear to his heart were the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Abhiñjana Śakuntalam*, on both of which he has left behind considerable critical writing. Besides an 'Authorised Version' of the *Gītā* (Poona, 1940) and a Translation of the work with Critical Introduction (Poona, 1943), he edited Ānandavardhana's commentary on the *Gītā* called *Jñānakarmasamuccaya*, from its only Śāradā manuscript (Poona, 1941). In 1942, when the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute celebrated its Silver Jubilee, Dr. Belvalkar delivered a series of 25 Lectures on the *Gītā*. His critical edition of the work with an elaborate critical and comparative study came out in 1945 (Poona).

Dr. Belvalkar had a prominent part to play in the establishment in 1917 of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and, beginning with the office of a Founder-Secretary, he was, throughout his life, closely connected with that institution in various capacities. He was instrumental in the Institute taking up in 1919, the work of the



Critical Edition of the *Mahabharata*, the Great Epic of India. And, in 1943, when its General Editor Dr. V. S. Sukthankar passed away suddenly, Dr. Belvalkar had to take over as General Editor. He personally edited five *parvans* of the Epic, including two of the most important, viz. the *Bhishma* and the *Śanti*, before he retired, due to ill-health, in 1961. But, it was given to him to see before he died the successful completion of that grand project when, at a special function held at the Institute on 22-9-1966, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, released the last volume of the Epic and honoured Dr. Belvalkar, too, as one of the Editors.

Dr. Belvalkar's connection with the All-India Oriental Conference, the premier forum of Indian Indologists, for whose inception, too, he was instrumental, was intimate and abiding. Apart from being called upon to work as its Secretary for several terms, he was elected President of its Vedic Section in 1922 (Calcutta), Vedic and Avesta Section in 1926 (Patna) and Philosophy Section in 1930 (Baroda). On the occasion of its Twelfth Session held at Banaras in 1943, the Conference conferred on him its highest honour by electing him its General President. Dr. Belvalkar's services to Indological studies received wide public approbation when Indologists from India and abroad joined to honour him with a *Felicitations Volume* which was presented to him on the occasion of the 19th Session of the Oriental Conference held at Delhi in 1957.

K. V. SARMA

*Curator, Vishveshvaranand Institute*



## LITERARY REVIEWS

*THE SEERS OF THE ṚGVEDA*, By V. G. Rahurkar. University of Poona, 1964. Pp. viii+xx+321. Rs. 25/-.

The work under review is the author's Thesis for the Ph.D. Degree, accepted by University of Poona in 1955. In the words of the author "it is an attempt to evaluate the role of the *ṛsis* of the *Ṛgveda* in the domains of social and political history, religion, ritual and philosophy, poetry and literature and general culture". (Intro., p: xx). A perusal of the work will convince any reader that it is an apt, proper and concise description of the work. Not only in the case of the important *ṛsis* as those of the so-called Family Books, but also in regard to authors of isolated hymns, the author has tried to collect, examine, and set forth as much information as his sources would yield. He has tried to correlate the evidence gleaned from an intensive study of the text of the *Ṛgveda* with the information available from later sources such as the *Bṛhaddevata*, the Epics and the Purāṇas. The work sheds much interesting light on the cultural life of the early Vedic period.

While the author has generally given the divergent views on all controversial matters, there is one significant omission. While discussing the various modern views with the regard to the nature and purpose of the Frog Hymn (*RV* 50, 103), he has not referred to the view of Prof. M. Bloomfield, who has written on this hymn in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. The author's expression is generally clear, but the following statement is rather enigmatic: At page 131-32, he states, "the Vasiṣṭhas had colonised on the bank of the river Sarasvatī and then spread out via Paruṣṇī as far as the Yamunā together with the victorious Bharatas". Now, for spreading out towards the Yamunā from the Sarasvatī, one does not at all come anywhere close to the Paruṣṇī, which is to the north-west of Sarasvatī, while the Yamunā is to its east. The Sarasvatī is in the middle of the region bounded by the Paruṣṇī or Ravi on the north-west and the Yamunā in the east.

The work suffers from one very serious defect, that of a large number of misprints of various sorts. There are many cases where a small letter instead of the capital one has been used in proper nouns, e.g., *kāśī* for *Kāśī*, (p. 93) *viśvāmitra* (p. 123), *sāyaṇa* (p. 50), *pratardana*, *atri*, *kaṇva*. Some of the other serious misprints are 'standarded' for



'standard' (p. 83), 'pearless' for 'peerless' (p. 85), 'date' for 'data' (p. 93) etc. At page 182, the last sentence is incomplete. At other places several words have been repeated. However, an attenuating circumstance might be that the author was not in charge of passing the book through the press, through this does not exonerate him from the responsibility and the duty which every author owes to his readers.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

*ṚKSAMHITĀ-SĀRA* (Kannada) By G. N. Chakravarthi,  
Department of Sanskrit, St. Philomena's College, Mysore, 1966.  
Pp. 10+125+336+207. Rs. 16/-.

The view that the Vedas hold the key not only to the hoary culture and philosophic speculations of ancient India but also to its scientific attainments is not new. The work reviewed here, written primarily for the Kannada reading public, forms an able exposition of this school of thought.

In an elaborate but instructive Introduction, the author presents the background of Vedic civilization, outlines the different trends of thought that stirred in the Vedas, indicates how the hymns reflect the high philosophical and scientific view of cosmic unity and compares them with similar developments in the Western civilizations. In the further chapters he discusses the concept of Vedic deities and their supernatural role, *Gayatri* as the essence of cosmic creation and the apparent diversity but the fundamental unity in the teachings of the Veda. It is also shown that the Vedic '*karma*' and the Vedāntic '*jñāna*' are, in essence, identical. To adumbrate his statements, the author quotes a number of apt Vedic passages, which he also translates for facilitating the understanding of their full significance.

The book would serve eminently the purpose for which it is intended, viz., to give the interested Kannaḍa reader an introduction to the *Rgveda* as a repository of ancient Indian culture and to induce him to go to the original for further edification.

G. MARULASIDDHAIAH

*MM SHIRIDHAR SHASTRI WAREY GAURAV GRANTH* Ed.  
V. G. Rahurkar. Pub. G. S. Warey, 2187, Maghali Holi, Nasik,  
1965. Pp. 14+336. Rs. 15/-.

Commemoration Volumes serve generally two purposes, first to put together the biographical details including the literary achievements and academic contributions of the savant commemorated,



and, secondly, to edit a certain number of learned articles relating to the branch of knowledge in which the said savant specialised. The *Volume* reviewed here, published to commemorate one of the outstanding Vedic and Mīmāṃsā scholars of Maharashtra, viz., Vedaśāstrasampūrṇa, Mahāmahopādhyāya, Mīmāṃsābhūṣaṇa, Vidyābharāṇa Pt. Shridhar Shastri Warey (1903-1964) of Nasik, follows the general pattern, with the addition of a special feature, viz. an account of the scholarly family of the Warey-s dating back to Śaka 1550 (A. D. 1628).

All the forty papers, in Sanskrit, Marathi and English, in the *Volume*, centre round Śanskritic subjects, the one exception being a paper on 'Inside Maharashtra : The great nation', by D. V. Potdar (pp. 209-32), which gives a bird's eye-view of the home-state of the commemorated savant from divers aspects, like geography, history, tradition, scholarship, modern institutions, future prospects etc. General and specific topics on the Vedas and Vedāṅgas, Dharma, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and allied subjects, interpreted and elucidated, form the burden of most of the papers. Of research papers mention might be made of *Vedāṃsambandhīm vividha dr̥ṣṭikon* (Marathi) by G. V. Devasthali (pp. 35-51) and 'The fire-ordeal of Sītā' by Nil Madhav Sen, which endeavours to prove the absence of the episode from the *Ur-Rāmāyaṇa* (pp. 233-39). The exposition of the potency of *mantras* by Ganesh Shastri Shende (pp. 283-93) provides convincing reading. The correlation of science and philosophy attempted by P. S. Gupte (pp. 240-52) is thought-provoking.

It would seem as if the publishers of the *Volume* have addressed it primarily to the Marathi reading public, the entire introductory portion (pp. 1-14, 1-15) being in Marathi. However, viewed from another angle, it is the non-Marathi reader, Indian and foreign, who stands in need of being introduced to the scholar commemorated, a need which would be best served by the addition of an Introductory Note in English. The same reasoning with reference to the book itself would demand the addition of at least the title of the *Volume* and minimum bibliographical details in English *also*, at some appropriate place in the book. One might take the cue in this matter, if that be necessary, from the several German, Russian and other European publications which follow this practice.

The *Volume* is well got-up and printed, but does not seem to have had the benefit of expert proof-reading, which has left in its wake a large number of misprints for the reader to tackle for himself.



The Warey Shastri Commemoration Committee deserves the thanks of all Sanskritists and cultured readers for the publication of the present collection of studies on the Vedas and Śāstras. It is to be hoped that the Committee will now address itself to the publication of the more than two dozen works of MM Warey Shastri which still remain in manuscript form.

K. V. SARMA

*THE RĀMĀYAṆA OF VALMIKI* Translated by Hari Prasad Shastri. Shanti Sadan, 29 Chepstov Villas, London, W. 11. 3 vols., 1952-59 (vol. I, 2nd edn., 1962). Pp. xviii+534; xii+543; xii+708. Sh. 90.

The influence that the great Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa* has exerted over the entire South and South-East Asia and the extent to which its ethical tenor has percolated into the life of the people of that vast region is something unique in the cultural history of mankind. It has been claimed, justifiably enough, that this extensive sway has been due, mainly, to Vālmiki's monumental work. It is as much the wealth of details, couched in poetry of unsurpassed dramatic power and brilliance with which Vālmiki, the 'First Poet' of Classical Sanskrit, has embellished the story, as the appeal of the plot that should account for this popularity. The additional attraction of the work for the modern cultured reader lies in its being a veritable storehouse of the spiritual and worldly wisdom of one of the advanced civilizations that flourished more than two millennia ago. It gives exquisite pen-pictures of the contemporary life and society, customs and manners, government and polity, geography and ethnography, flora and fauna, sciences and handicrafts, war and peace, and, thus, forms a kaleidoscope for obtaining a view of ancient Indian culture in its varied aspects. The numerous retellings, adaptations, abridgments and dramatisations of the entire or of parts of the epic, produced during the later ages, have hardly taken the edge off Vālmiki's masterpiece in the matter of charm or felicity. It is this aspect of the epic that has prompted the present translator to produce a "good complete modern English translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa*" (Intro., p. xv) which he intends primarily as a potent source of new inspiration from the East to the students of the West who are often apt to look no further than Roman and Greek civilizations for literary and cultural inspiration.

An authentic and readable translation of the entire 24,000 stanzas of the Sanskrit original issued in the three volumes reviewed



here, fully justifies the expectations of the translator. The translation is literal without becoming clumsy. To be sure, a little grating is experienced when one commences reading the work. But, as one gets on the stride, the rendering seems to grow smooth, natural and, what is more, homely and entertaining. And, this is more than what can be expected of a rendering of the Classical Sanskrit idiom into an alien language.

For the benefit of the uninitiated Western reader, the translator has provided, besides explanatory footnotes, annotated glossaries of places and persons, flowers and trees, etc. that are referred to in the epic. For the academic student of the epic, he has added, in the First volume, renderings of the additional or divergent passages which are found in the different recensions of the epic, a feature which has, unfortunately, been discontinued in Volumes Two and Three.

The credit for the success of the present rendering should go, if we may so put it, to the translator being an Indian who has drunk deep from the fountain of Hindu traditions of religion and philosophy but who had settled in the West and had chosen as his life's mission the interpretation of Indian thought to the West.

One is apt to wonder whether this latest English rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is not just another vindication of the prophecy expressed about the epic :

*yāvat sthāsyanti girayaḥ saritaś ca mahātale !  
tavad Rāmāyaṇakatha pracariṣyati bhūtale !!*

"As long as mountains and rivers subsist on the earth, the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* will continue to be retold in the world."

K. V. SARMA

*THE CONCEPT OF DHARMA IN VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA*

By Benjamin Khan. Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Nai Sarak, Delhi-6, 1965. Pp. xvi+273 Rs. 20/-.

We have before us an analytical and well reasoned interpretation of the ethics of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, which is remarkable for more reasons than one. The author is Christian by faith, which makes his assessment free from religious bias and engenders in him a detached outlook. The author is an Indian, which fact enables him to enter into the spirit of the epic which a Westerner cannot with equal felicity. He is well entrenched in Christian ethics and Western



In this work the author makes, on the background of the complexity of modern ethical standards, an appraisal of the concepts of *Dharma* (virtue) as exemplified by Vālmiki in the *Ramayana* and tries to draw lessons therefrom for the benefit of modern society. He approaches the problem with an open mind, but with empathy and understanding. Affirming that there is a psychological, social and spiritual necessity for the acceptance of moral values in social life, he examines the evolution of the ancient Indian concept of *Rta*, which comprehends the theory of *Dharma*, and its relative and pragmatic aspects which Vālmiki advocates through the chief characters and incidents in the epic. The major traits of the thoughts and actions of the said characters are analysed with a view to bring out the fact that Vālmiki's interpretation of the law of *Dharma* is dynamic, but relative, subject to time and place, to be applied according to the capacity of the individual, to the best service of the society. It is shown that Vālmiki believed in 'human values', not in 'theoretical abstracts'. *Inter alia*, the author endeavours to meet some of the apparent contradictions in the story which seem to go against its spirit, for instance, the Vāli episode and the killing of Tāṭakā. He interprets the *Ramayana* as a forceful re-orientation and adaptation of an older moral spiritual code to new needs—a code which he sets out for the emulation of the present day civilization as an answer to the disharmony, discontent and confusion which prevails today.

The present reviewer has no hesitation in stating that the author has eminently succeeded in his attempt in "constructing a moral system out of all the isolated moral precepts that we find there" and "to show to the present generation that most of the problems which are baffling us can be solved by following those precepts." (Preface, p. xi). The printing and get-up of the book, too, are excellent, matching international standards.

As if to offset the above-said qualities of contents and production, the publication has some built-in defects, which detract from the credit not only of the publishers but of the author as well, for these seem to have arisen from apparent indifference to what may be called a joint responsibility. Every other of the numerous Sanskrit quotations is defective, being either mis-spelt, wrongly spaced or erroneous. According to Daṇḍin one blemish is sufficient to deface a handsome form (*syad-vapilīṣaṇḍanam apīṣṭīrenaikena durbhagam*).



And, here, we have blemishes by the score. From the academic point of view, these reduce greatly the readability and reliability of the book. The Bibliography is non-uniform, besides being, often, incomplete. The five-page Index is too scrappy and most inadequate to justify the wealth of material contained in the book. It would seem as if the indexer was content to give just a single or casual indication to the numerous items and, sometimes, no indication at all though they occurred frequently in the book. One would wish, again, that the Index was descriptive, not enumerative.

K. V. SARMA

*VAKYAPADĪYA OF BHARTṚHARI* with the Commentaries *Ṃṛtti* and *Paddhati* of Vṛṣabhadeva, Kāṇḍa I, Critically edited by K. A. Subramania Iyer. Deccan College, Poona, 1966. Pp. xxv+268. Rs. 25/-.

*THE VĀKYAPADĪYA OF BHARTṚHARI* with the *Ṃṛtti*, Chapter I, English Translation, By K. A. Subramania Iyer. Deccan College, Poona, 1965. Pp. xl+137. Rs. 10/-.

It is a pleasure rarely given to a scholar to have an occasion to re-view and assess, after a lapse of years, an academic piece of work over which he had laboured hard and had contributed his mite. Such an occasion has, now, been offered to the present reviewer. He considers it a privilege to be asked to review the work of Prof. K. A. S. Iyer on one of the masterpieces of Sanskrit grammatical speculations, viz., the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari, of which the present reviewer produced, more than three decades ago, (Lahore, 1934), a critical edition with two ancient commentaries. The work has been re-edited on the basis of additional basic material and brought out, in a more perfect form, with a translation added, in the two volumes reviewed here.

The present edition is doubly welcome, first, because the earlier edition referred to above has long gone out of print, and secondly, because that embodied only extracts from the *Paddhati*, the commentary of Vṛṣabhadeva. while the present edition contains the commentary in full ; obviously, extracts are no substitute for the full commentary. Some observations on the text and the commentaries, as edited now, in comparison with the earlier edition, would be interesting.

In the preparation of this critical edition, the Editor has been able to procure and use more manuscripts. It is a pleasure to note



that the new manuscripts have served also to corroborate the authenticity of the text of the *Ūrtti* as given in the previous edition. Some of the doubtful readings, the correctness or aptness of which had not been questioned there remain unquestioned here too. For instance, the present edition reads : *jātiḥ śāstre kāryayoginī samcikīrṣita vyaktiḥ śāstre kāryayoginī samcikīrṣita iti* (p. 130, lines 4-5). Now, *samcikīrṣita* is grammatically wrong. It should be *samciskīrṣita* (with *suṭ*).

Again, it reads : *na ca dravyasya prakarṣāprakarṣau sta ity āsritair bheda hetubhiḥ paratantraiḥ samsargibhir nimittaiḥ prakarṣe savyāpāraiḥ pracikīrṣito 'rthaḥ prakṛṣyate* (p. 122, lines 5-7). Here, the form *pracikīrṣita*, though grammatically correct when derived from *√prakṛ* with the desiderative suffix, has no relevancy in the passage. It is wrongly used in the place of *pracikṛkṣita* from *√prakṛṣ* with the desiderative suffix ; for, though *√prakṛ* has a host of meanings, it certainly does not mean 'to grade up'. The passage in question speaks of how *prakarṣa* is effected in an object. The words *prakarṣa*, *aprakarṣa*, *prakṛṣyate* used here, all point to the desired form *pracikṛkṣita* from *√prakṛṣ*. *pracikīrṣito 'rthaḥ* in the Text could not mean 'an object in which degree is sought to be expressed', which is the meaning intended by the author.

On p. 126, lines 5-6, the *Ūrtti* reads : *pratipadikarthavyatirekaḥ saṣṭhīpravyṛttihetuḥ svarūpābhidheyenārthavatā tadvatām samjñāśabdena yogat samjñāśabdānām upajāyate*. Here, *tadvatām* (*tadvatā* of the *Paddhati*) has nothing to add to the sense of the passage. I doubt if it could be the author's reading in the *Ūrtti*. Here, *tadvatām* could refer to *artha* in the word *artha-vatā* just preceding it and would not convey more than what is already conveyed by the word *arthavatā*. It is a useless addendum, a *gaḍu* and has no justification to be there. It is an interpolation which serves only to intercept the syntactical relation of the word *arthavatā* with its *viśeṣya*, viz., *samjñāśabdena*.

There are couple of readings which, to the reviewer's mind, are open to correction. On p. 147, lines 5-6, we have : *dhvanir anugṛhyamānarūpaḥ śabdagrahe nimittam bhavati*. Here, obviously, *anugṛhyamānarūpaḥ* is a wrong reading which vitiates the sense. It should be corrected to *agrhyamānarūpaḥ*.

On p. 182, lines 5-6, the *Ūrtti* reads : *viśeṣo 'vadhāraṇa nibandhana-padapratyayam antareṇa nāvadhāryate*, where the reviewer's edition read : *viśeṣo 'vadhāraṇa-nibhandhana-* etc. Prof. Iyer suggests that the correct reading may be *viśeṣāvadhāraṇā* etc. But, then, it would be an unusual construction ; the sentence would then read *viśeṣā-*



*vadhāraṇā ... nāvadhāryate*. The *Ṭṛtti* nowhere shows the use of an unqualified cognate object in this manner. In fact, *viśeṣo nāvadhāryate* is the construction and *avadhāraṇa* or *avadhāraṇā* is a part of the compound which begins with it.

The reading *vyañjana* in place of *vyajana* in *karikā* 108 (p. 177) needs a few comments. All the manuscripts of the *Kārikās* and the *Ṭṛtti* used by the reviewer read *vyañjanād vāyur iva*. Prof. Iyer's Mss. also read the same, except the one marked 'S'. I think, in the face of the overwhelming Mss. evidence, the reading *vyañjana* may not be rejected. Monier-Williams notes the sense 'fan' for *vyañjana* also, though he could not trace it beyond the lexicons. To me, it appears that *vyañjana* also had the same sense as *vyajana* during the time of Bhartṛhari and before. The root *añj* has three meanings according to the *Dhātupāṭha* of Pāṇini: *mrakṣana* (to anoint), *kānti* (to shine) and *gati* (to move). Now, so far as we know, *vyañjana* is the only word to which the meaning *gati* could be traced. The meaning *gati* survives, so to say, in this verbal derivative and has become extinct elsewhere, just as the meaning *gati* of the root *han* survives in the word *haṁsa* (swan) and has become obsolete in *hanti* etc.

Prof. Iyer regards the *kārikās* 108-115 as quotations incorporated in the *Ṭṛtti* from other ancient works and so excludes them from the *kārikās* of Bhartṛhari's own composition. The reviewer too subscribes to this view. In fact, he had pointed out, in his edition, in the footnotes to the said *kārikās*, that none of the four South Indian manuscripts of the Text contained them. To account for the omission, it was further suggested there that these *kārikās*, unaccompanied by a commentary, were, probably, looked upon as quotations from other authors. The reason why these were not excluded there from the Text of the *Vākyapadīya* was that these were read as part of the Text in a fairly large number of Mss. from the North

For the *Paddhati* of Vṛṣabha, too, Prof. Iyer has utilised more Mss. than for the earlier edition. He is perfectly right when he observes in the Introduction: "In the course of my work on this edition I fully understood the reason why he (the present reviewer) gave only extracts from this commentary. He must have judged that the available Mss. of the commentary were too corrupt for the whole of the text to be given in a reasonably correct form." (p. vii.)

The present edition of the *Paddhati* is a considerable improvement upon the previous edition. The Editor has proceeded with his



work undaunted by the very unsatisfactory nature of the available Mss. and it is to his credit that he has succeeded, by sheer virtue of critical acumen and persistent intelligent labour, in restoring a pretty large number of corrupt readings to their understandable correct forms. He has done his best to give us a readable text of the *Paddhati* without which the abstruse *Vṛtti* would be a challenge even to the most mature scholarship.

As candidly admitted by the learned Editor (Intro., p. vii), there still remain some passages that have proved intractable. Not only are there single words and sentences which defy improvement, but whole lines, which are marked with a wavy line indicating their corrupt nature. This is because the Mss. have been derived from the same original stock and therefore have not proved to be of much help. As it is, there are a large number of corrupt readings, besides those noted, questioned or improved upon by the Editor. Attention might be drawn to a few, by way of illustration :

P. 12, line 12, the *Paddhati* reads *gotraḥ śaḍṛśyam*, where *gotraḥ* in the masculine is against established usage.

P. 15, line 8, *ekatvam anatikramāt* has a wavy line underneath. The correct expression which could be suggested is *ekatvam anatikrāmat*.

P. 15, line 9, has the expression, *na hy etāḥ śaktayo 'bheda-brahmarūpatayā etām jahati*. It should be corrected to *na hy etāḥ... ekatām jahati*. If it was a Ms. reading, it should have been questioned. What could the demonstrative pronoun *etām* refer to ?

P. 37, lines 13-14, read : *yato bhedaṇām asatyatayā praṇavam abhinnaṃ vivartate sarvadṛṣṭiḥ*. It is unthinkable that any Sanskrit author worth the name, much less the erudite Vṛṣabhadeva, could use *praṇava* in the neuter. And, *sarvadṛṣṭiḥ*, the concluding word of the sentence, in the masculine, is in open conflict with it.

P. 85, line 12, *vipralambhātā'pi dṛṣṭetyāha*. Here, *vipralambhātā* should be corrected to *vipralambhakātā*. The abstract suffix *tal* could not come after *vipralambha*, already an abstract noun.

P. 107, line 13, *sambandhino 'bhiviyaktuḥ*. Here, *abhiviyaktuḥ* is bad in grammar. It should be emended to *abhivyañaktuḥ*.

P. 126, lines 21-22, *ekasya gaur ity eṣā samjñā*. Here, *ekasya* is meaningless. It should be changed to *vāhikasya*.



P. 151, lines 14-15, *nipāta api traya eva, asti staḥ sanīti viśiṣṭa-sankhyā-viṣayā eveti na nipātaḥ*. This is a jumble of words, making little sense. The passage should have been questioned or marked with a wavy line underneath.

P. 182, line 12, *tat tu tathā paricchidyottaram śabdānuviddhayā buddhya smaryate*. Here, one does not know what *tad* in the neuter singular refers to. It is a doubtful reading.

Prof. Iyer has done a signal service to the cause of grammatico-philosophical studies by offering an English Translation of the *Vakyapīḍiṣya*, Kaṇḍa I, along with the *Vṛtti*, the author's own exposition of his *kārikas*. It is comparatively easy to render the *kārikas*, but to translate the *Vṛtti*, bringing out the exact meaning intended by the author, is a trying task. In this, Prof. Iyer has done remarkably well. His rendering is close to the original and faithful to the sense intended. The language is, throughout, clear, adequate and readable. The translation of the *kārikas*, though not the first, is a distinct improvement on the earlier ones, for instance, that of Prof. Shanti Bhikshu Shastri (Leipzig, 1963). I do not have before me the French Translation of the work by M. Biarreau—I could not secure a copy of it in Delhi—and, therefore, am not in a position to assess that work. But one may still assert that Prof. Iyer's work, as the production of an erudite scholar who has a masterly grasp of the language and of the thought of the great Bhartṛhari, is not likely to be surpassed easily in the near future. Prof. Iyer's Notes appended to his Translation are indeed illuminating and have further heightened the value of his work.

One observation more before this review is concluded. The word 'inexpressible' given as the meaning of the Sanskrit '*anupākhyā*' occurring in a quotation in the *Vṛtti* on *kārika* 8 raises a question: Is 'inexpressible' the sense of *anupākhyā*? I think not. Prof. Iyer here follows Vṛṣabha who says: *śabdapravṛtti-nibandhanābhavaḥ anupākhyāḥ iti*. But, elsewhere, the same commentator, while interpreting *vyavahāram prati tad avidheyam vastu nirupākhyair eva tulyam* (pp. 94-95) understands *nirupākhyā* (which is the same as *anupākhyā*) in a different sense. Says he: *yan nāstityaṅgikriyate tad avyavahāryam na pratyakṣa-samadhigamyam iti* (p. 95, lines 14-15). Here, evidently, he assigns to the word the meaning *apratyakṣa*, and that is exactly its meaning in the Pāṇini-sūtra *dvitiye cānupākhye* (6. 3. 80), where the *Kaśikā* has the comment: *upākhyāyate pratyakṣata upalabhyate yaḥ sa upākhyāḥ, upākhyāḥ anyo 'nupākhyo 'numeyaḥ*. Monier-Williams too notes this very sense and knows no other. I am



therefore of the view that *anupakhya* should be rendered by 'not discernible' or 'imperceptible.' *khyā* must be understood to have been used here in the old sense, 'to see, to discern', as in the philosophical term *khyati* meaning *darśana* or *buddhi*

Through the two publications reviewed here, Prof. Iyer has laid the entire world of scholars under a deep debt of gratitude. These books are bound to give a fresh impetus to the study of the *Vakyapadiya* in which interest was flagging on account of the non-availability of a critical edition of the work and the absence of a reliable translation.

Neatly printed and well presented, it is in the fitness of things that these two volumes have been published by the Deccan College, Poona, where Prof. Iyer was, for some time, Visiting Professor in Linguistics.

CHARUDEV SHASTRI

*CRITIQUES ON SANSKRIT DRAMAS* By Sadashiv A. Dange and Sindhu S. Dange. Darshana Printers, Moradabad, 1963. Pp. 123. Rs. 6.

The Dange couple, both Sanskritists, have offered in the book under review a bouquet of refreshing studies on Sanskrit drama. Besides select aspects of the theory of drama in general, the authors have studied some of the more important Sanskrit dramas and dramatists. Several well thrashed out problems have been taken up for reappraisal and have been subjected to fresh lines of investigation, with results, sometimes, unorthodox but novel, thought-provoking and, more often than not, convincing.

Thus, in the very first paper (pp. 1-14), the generally accepted view about the dominant *rasa* in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* is challenged and it is argued that it is not *Karuṇa* but *Vipralambha*. In the second, the character of the much-maligned Kaikeyī, mother of Bharata, and a character in Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka*, is completely exonerated. In another paper, 'The Order of the Duryodhana plays of Bhāsa' (pp. 21-32), the character of Duryodhana, the villain of the *Mahabharata*, is sublimated. The trend is continued in the next paper 'In defence of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa's Duryodhana' (pp. 33-38). Two of the further papers try to trace and make a comparative study of the development of the plots in different dramas having the common motifs : (1) dream and reminiscence of a lost wife in



*Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Śakuntala* and *Uttararāmacarita* and (2) a memento in *Svapnavāsavadatta*, *Śakuntala* and *Vikramorvaśiya*. A sort of continuum and borrowing among these is suggested, which does not, however seem to be convincing. A study of the motif of *Citrāphalaka* (picture-board) employed in Sanskrit dramas forms the theme of another paper. In two well-written papers on 'Suggestion in Sanskrit dramas' (pp. 91-103) and 'The *Patakasthāna*' (pp. 104-10) are brought together catching contexts of subtle suggestion and dramatic irony from some of the well-known Sanskrit plays. In the last piece of the collection, rightly called 'The Knot of Bliss', the authors bring together contexts where the 'child' dominates the scene. We may, say, in fine, that the book provides instructive reading to the student of Sanskrit drama and refreshing retrospection to the well-read Sanskritist.

For all the quality of the contents of this book, one is constrained to observe that from the standards of modern book-production, the present publication is capable of vast improvement, in the matter of layout, presentation, typography, printing, punctuation and even in get-up and binding. Apart from literals, which occur by the score, what is more disconcerting to the discerning academic reader is the occasional absence and, more frequently, the non-conformity with international diacritical spelling. Making uniform and complete the numerous bibliographical and other references in the footnotes would also add to the worth of the book. The language of the book needs to be touched at places. It is to be hoped that when a future edition of this book is planned all possible efforts would be made to see that the standard of its production equals that of its contents.

K. V. SARMA

*PADACANDRIKĀ*, A Commentary on the *Namalingānuśāsana* of Amara by Rāyamukūṭa (Text and the commentary). Ed. by Kali Kumar Dutta, Sastri. Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Vol. I, Fasc. i, 1966. Pp. xvi+135. (*Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series* No. 48).

Bṛhaspati Miśra, better known by his title 'Rāyamukūṭa', the prolific writer, scholiast and nibandhakāra of Bengal, has been no stranger to students and writers of Sanskrit, mediaeval or modern, also as a prodigious commentator of the *Amarakośa*. Rāyamukūṭa's commentary written in A.D. 1474 (*IHQ* 17 (1941) 467-68), had been extremely popular as much for its eruditeness as for its



exhaustiveness that it broke its provincial frontiers and was studied throughout India as attested by references to it in numerous later works and by the availability of its manuscripts in all parts of the land from Kashmir to Kerala and from Assam to Gujarat. This work was introduced to modern Sanskritists by Colbrooke in the Preface to his *Kosha by Umura Singha* (Calcutta, 1807) and has also been written upon. The academic worth of the commentary was fully realised by Anundorum Borooah who commenced an elaborate edition of this work along with the *Amarakoṣa-vyākhyā* of Kṣīrasvāmin in 1877 (Berhampur), but, which was, unfortunately, abandoned at Borooah's untimely death when only a fragment of the work, upto I. v. 5, had been published. It is highly gratifying that Dr. K. K. Dutta has, now, taken upon himself the formidable task of making available to scholars this valuable but voluminous work of Rāyamukṭa.

The book reviewed here forms the First fasciculus of the First volume of the said edition. Though it covers only the *Svargavarga* (I. i. 1-66), it is full-fledged in that it has been supplied with a Preface, a list of Authors and Works cited and an Index of Words with a Pentaglot vocabulary in Bengali, English, French, German and Hindi for the portion comprised in the fascicule. Fine printing and get-up, characteristic of the *Calcutta Sanskrit College Series* also marks the publication.

The present edition is based, as stated in the Preface (p. xiii), on four imperfect manuscripts and a modern collection of extracts from the commentary, which the editor remarks ruefully, "are not sufficient for a text-critical edition" (p. xiii). He therefore hopes that the present edition "will facilitate in future the publication of a text-critical edition of the same with more manuscript materials sufficient for such an edition" (p. xiv). It should, therefore, gladden the heart of the editor to learn that the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (Madras, 1949) records nearly 75 manuscripts of the work (see pp. 245, 376), a considerable number of which are readily available, and that since the compilation of that catalogue, too, several additional manuscripts have come to light. This rich manuscript material should enable the present editor himself to prepare the "real" text-critical edition envisaged by him.

The editor has spared no pains to present a readable text on the basis of the material available to him. In the edition, the text



of Amara has been presented as known and used by Rāyamukūṭa. Most of the numerous citations in the commentary have been traced to their sources. Complicated sentences have been split up and properly punctuated to facilitate easy comprehension. The words commented upon are given also in the margin for easy reference. Short informative notes are supplied in the footnotes. The over-all presentation is satisfactory, though not incapable of improvement. Thus, the supply of folio headings to indicate the word-groups treated in the respective pages, the printing of key-words in the outer corners of the pages, the breaking up of the footnote numbers page-wise instead of giving them in one sequence for the entire volume, are among the innovations which would further facilitate the use of the book. Several of the annotations in the footnotes have to be made more specific (e.g., nos. 39, 40, 49, 150, 300).

The title under which the work has been published, is non-expressive, if not misleading. Amara and Rāyamukūṭa are well known but not the innocuous name of the commentary, *Padacandrika* (or *Paḍapañcika*, as some manuscripts have it). The edition will, undoubtedly, draw more attention if it goes under the title of *Amarakośa* or *Namalinganuśāsana* than under *Padacandrika*.

The General Editor of the work states in his Foreword that "as the work is a voluminous one, it has been decided to publish it in parts", under which scheme the present part contains about 70 stanzas. He adds: "This has one advantage. Scholars working in the field will now find an opportunity of knowing the character, value and importance of this commentary and will no longer have to wait for years." But these characteristics of the work are only too well known, already. In fact, the greatest service that could be done in the matter, which would make the entire world of Sanskritists feel indebted, is to publish the entire work as speedily and in as small a number of parts as possible, with consolidated indexes etc. for effective use. We are prompted to make this last said observation especially because of our anxiety to see this extremely valuable work made available for the use of scholars in the shortest time possible, a desire in which, we are sure, all lovers of Sanskrit would be equally keen.

K. V. SARMA



*PURĀNIC AND TĀNTRIC RELIGION (EARLY PHASE)* By J. N. Banerjea. University of Calcutta, 1966. Pp. xiv+189. Rs. 12/50.

The work under review consists of six lectures on Purāṇic and Tāntric Religion which the learned author delivered at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Calcutta University, in April 1965. The study of some of the Indian religious systems with special reference to archaeological evidence had been receiving Dr. Banerjea's attention for a long time, as is apparent from his learned observations in his *Development of Hindu Iconography*, published in 1941. He also wrote on the origin and development of Vaiṣṇavism in the *Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II.

In the present work, Dr. Banerjea has very scientifically traced the origin and development of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śakti worship and Tāntric cult, and the worship of the Sun, Kārttikeya and Gaṇapati, right from the Vedic, or even, in some cases, from the pre-Vedic times upto the close of the classical age of the Guptas. He has drawn upon the relevant authentic literary texts and has adduced archaeological evidence—epigraphic, numismatic and monumental—in order to verify, support, and supplement the results obtained from literary evidence. His account in all cases is lucid, succinct and, at the same time, comprehensive. It is equally interesting for the layman as well as the specialist. Dr. Banerjea has completely succeeded in his aim of producing a work which is authentic and at the same time easily intelligible.

In the whole work, only the following two statements need a slight modification. At page 26, the author has referred to the construction of 'an excellent temple of the Bhagavat (*bhagavato prāsādotamasa*).’ But, as pointed out by us in the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, III, 100, the correct reading is *bhagavato puruṣotamasya*, which would mean 'of the Lord Puruṣottama', i.e., Viṣṇu. Again, at page 54, the author has referred to the 'much damaged Mandasor rock inscription of *Mahārāja* Naravarman,' dated in the year 461 of the Mālava era. This inscription is on a stone slab, not on rock; and, though incomplete, is quite well preserved so far as the extant portion is concerned. But these are very minor points and do not in any way detract from the great value of the work.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL



*THE KAUTILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA, PART III: A STUDY*, By R. P. Kangle. University of Bombay, Bombay, 1965, Pp. 5+303. Rs. 16./-. (*University of Bombay Studies, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali*, No. 3).

In his Critical Edition and Translation of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, issued as Pts. I and II in the present project (1960, 1963), which we had the occasion to review in detail in a previous Number of this Journal (3 [1965] 134-57), Prof. Kangle had promised an analytical study on this classic on ancient Indian polity. He has fulfilled the promise in the book reviewed here. Herein, in twelve well-written chapters, Prof. Kangle places in perspective the science of polity as conceived and practised in ancient India, traces its origin and development and sets out in detail its different facets. The three parts of the work, together, form a complete presentation and exposition of Kauṭalya's masterpiece.

The *Arthaśāstra* is one of the few individual works which have been widely studied and profusely written upon by Indologists, both Indian and foreign. as attested by the Bibliography given at the end of the present work in which are included a dozen books and about a hundred papers. In fact, even this long bibliography is capable of being enlarged considerably. Instead of allowing this already available rich exegetical literature to deter him, Prof. Kangle has, indeed, drawn his incentive from them, putting them to maximum use by placing his findings cogently on the background of the many and, often, divergent, views expressed by the earlier writers. It is extremely rewarding to go through Prof. Kangle's treatise, especially because of the scrupulous care he has taken to assess, analyse and record the views of his predecessors on every important point before he makes a point of his own or expresses himself in favour of or against a view already mooted. And, in this, perhaps, lies the chief merit of the present book.

Among the subjects studied in detail are State administration, Security and defence, Law and justice, and Economy and society. The chapters III-V devoted to the Contents and Form of the *Arthaśāstra*, the Sources of the work, and its Author and his Date, are specially noteworthy for the elaborate discussion and assessment of the various views expressed by scholars, so far. On the matter of the extent of the work, the author rightly refutes the views of Prof. D. D. Kosambi (pp. 21-29) and some others, but the fact remains that



we are still far from reaching a finality on this point. About the predecessors of Kauṭalya, Kangle presents (pp. 40-48) interesting material which, if not entirely new, are subjected to comparative study and logical presentation. His arguments (pp. 73-83) for the priority of the *Arthaśāstra* to the Smṛtis of Yājñavalkya and Manu, both of which borrow ideas and expressions from the former, are fully justified.

In the course of the discussion on the authorship of the *Arthaśāstra*, Prof Kangle examines in some detail the spelling of the author's name, as to whether it is Kauṭilya or Kauṭalya (pp. 109-13) and decides in favour of the former. The present reviewer differs from him and desires to add to the *pūrvapakṣa* already recorded, that he has seen several original manuscripts of other works like commentaries on *Kavyas*, where *Arthaśāstra* is quoted with its author's name as Kauṭalya.

In the last chapter of the *Study*, entitled 'Concluding Remarks' (pp. 266-83), where the author deals with miscellaneous matters and sums up the work, he has touched upon many a thought-provoking idea on which the last word is yet to be said. The Kauṭalya-Machiavelli-Bismarck-Hobbes equation on 'Real-politics' (pp. 269-74), and Kauṭalya *vis-a-vis* Greek political thought (pp. 274-77) are instances in point. Prof. Kangle rightly rejects the view that the scarcity of the manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* is a proof for its teachings being repudiated in India (pp. 279-82). To the evidences advanced by the author in support of the continuity of the study of the *Arthaśāstra* during later times might be added the occurrence of profuse quotations from Kauṭalya in later commentarial and other literature, which is a pointer to the study of the work down the ages. *Inter alia* it might be pointed out that a systematic collection and correlation of the passages from the *Arthaśāstra* scattered in Sanskrit literature would help in the textual criticism of the work and enable many a doubtful passage in this cryptic text to be corrected. To indicate how fruitful this search could prove, I may refer to a recent paper entitled '*Arthaśāstra-studien*' by Dieter Schlingloff (*Wiener Zeit. Kunde Sud- und Ostasiens*, 10 [1965] 1-38) where as many as 60 Kauṭalyan passages have been traced to a single chapter, *viz.* Ch. VII, of Medhātithi's commentary on the *Manusmṛti*. It may also be noted that commentarial literature produced in the South, especially Kerala, for instance, the works of Pūrṇasarasvatī, Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita etc., contain numerous quotations from the *Arthaśāstra*.



The modest expectations of Prof. Kangle on his labours that he would "be satisfied if they are regarded as worthy of serious consideration" (Preface, p. 2) might be said to have been fulfilled several-fold by the very scholarly Edition, Translation and Study that he has produced.

K. V. SARMA

*PROFESSOR BIRINCHI KUMAR BARUA COMMEMORATION VOLUME*, Ed. M. Neog and M. M. Sharma. Pp. xii+lxviii+244. Rs. 10/-.

*PROFESSOR SURYYA KUMAR BHUYAN COMMEMORATION VOLUME*, Ed. M. Neog and H. K. Barpujari. Pp. xi+302. Rs. 10/-.

*PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE*, 22nd Session, Gauhati, 1965, 2 vols., Ed. M. Neog. Pp. viii+308 ; ix+284, Rs. 10/-, each.

All published by the Local Committee, 22nd All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati. (Available from the General Secretary, AIOC, Bhandarkar Or. Res. Institute, Poona-4).

The commemoration of Prof. B. K. Barua (1908-64) and Prof. S. K. Bhuyan (1894-1964) through the two sumptuous and beautifully produced *Volumes* reviewed here is highly befitting the lifelong service of these two savants to the development of higher education in Assam. The part they played in the establishment in 1948 of the Gauhati University and in the nurturing of that new-born institution has been most significant. Dr. Barua worked in the Department of Assamese in the University and Dr. Bhuyan in several capacities including that of the Vice-Chancellor. While one was versatile and the other methodic, both were prolific in their writings. What Dr. Barua did for the systematic study of the classical literature in Assamese and for the production of modern literature in that language, Dr. Bhuyan did, also, for the social and political history of Assam from early times. For all the academic glamour that surrounded these two personalities, they were both extremely human, as the intimate pen-pictures of these two scholars prefixed to the respective *Volumes* would show. Of these writings, those by Dr. Maheshvar Neog on Dr. Barua and by Mrs. Laksheswari Bhuyan on Dr. Bhuyan are specially revealing. We may, in this connection, draw the attention of our



readers to the *Obituary Notices* on these two savants published in the pages of an earlier Number of this *Journal*, (III, 1965, 306-8).

Between them, these two *Volumes* contain as many as seventy research papers on different aspects of Indology, several of them presented to the 22nd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Gauhati, under whose auspices these *Volumes* are issued.

The two volumes of the *Proceedings and Transactions* of the said Conference, under review here, are remarkable for the scrupulous care the editor has taken for their exquisite production, not only in the matter of presentation of the contents but also in printing and get-up. It is also gratifying that the *Proceedings* and the *Papers* selected for publication have been issued expeditiously: The dictum 'What is delayed is denied' is as much true in the case of the publication of the results of researches as in any other matter.

The world of Indologists owe a deep debt of gratitude to Prof. Neog, who has been the mainspring in the production of the four volumes reviewed here, and to the able team of his collaborators who have aided him in his task. Thanks are due, in rich measure, also to the Government of Assam and the authorities of the University of Gauhati for the liberal help, financial and otherwise, extended by them which has enabled the issue of these *Volumes* at very moderate prices.

K. V. SARMA

*VIŚVA KE DĀRŚANIKĀ* (Hindi) By Ratnachandra Sharma and Mahendra Kulasreshtha. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Shodha Samsthan, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur, 1963. Pp. 8+270. Rs. 4/50. (*Nityanand Universal Series*, No. 4).

The book under review on the philosophers of the world, meant primarily for the Hindi reading public, presents the life, personality and philosophy of representative thinkers of the world, Oriental as well as Western, from the ancient times till the present day. This, the book achieves by depicting in simple language the major events in the lives of the more important philosophers and giving in brief their main teachings. The First Part of the book dealing with Indian Philosophers is written by Prof. Ratnachandra Sharma and the Second Part dealing with Chinese and Western philosophers by Shri Mahendra Kulasreshtha.



Of orthodox Hindi philosophers are included the Upaniṣadic sage Yājñavalkya, Kapila, the author of *Saṃkhya Sūtras* and Lord Kṛṣṇa, the philosopher-politician of the *Mahābhārata*. Mahāvira and Buddha represent the non-Vedic religious school of Jainism and Buddhism. A succinct account of Buddhist dilecticism is given in the account of the great Buddhist logician Nāgārjuna. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja represent the two major schools of Vedantic philosophy. Of contemporary philosophers are included Yogi Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan.

The Second Part of the book is especially informative to Hindi readers in that it deals with non-Indian philosophers. The accounts of the Chinese philosophers Confucius and Laocius give an insight into the two opposing schools of early Chinese thought. Of Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle are included. An exposition of the medieval European philosophy is given through the sketch of Spinoza. Of later representative European philosophers dealt with are Berkeley, Kant, Schopenhauer, Spencer, Kirkegaard, Nietzsche and William James. Communist philosophy finds a short analysis in the account of its expounder Karl Marx. The contemporary philosophers treated are Jean Paul Satre, Whitehead and Albeyer Camus. The accounts given are well presented and authentic, containing, incidentally, information about other philosophers as well. The book thus gives a bird's eye-view of the philosophical speculations all over the world. A book of this nature has so far not been produced in Hindi and hence it is to be hoped that it would prove popular among students and the general cultured public, alike.

The printing and get-up of the book are commendable. One is, however, constrained to observe that a little more care in reading the proofs would have eliminated the several printing errors that have crept into the book.

S. P. GUPTA

*PRABHULĪLA* of Śrī Immaḍi Gurusiddha Svāmī, Ed. By G. Marulasiddaiah. University of Mysore, 1966. Pp. xxxii+89. Rs. 9/25.

The *Viśaiva* reformist movement which started in the northern part of the Karnatak region in the 12th century A.D. produced in its wake a rich crop of edificatory literature including the well-known gnostic prose gems called *Vacana*-s and works of the



the general literary type, mainly hymns, poems and purāṇas. Though this literary activity was pursued mainly through the local language of the region, viz. Kannada, Sanskrit, as the language *par eminence* and the repository of the basic tenets, too, came in as a medium of expression in this upsurge of literary production. The *Prabhulīla*, reviewed here, is a major work belonging to the latter category.

Prabhu or Allāma-Prabhu, the originator of Vīraśaivism, is considered to be a constituent of Śiva who incarnated on the earth to resuscitate Śaivism: Basava, the first propagator of the reformist movement, was Prabhu's associate and was installed by him as the pontif of the Śaiva Maṭh at Kalyāṇa. Prabhu's contribution to Vīraśaiva philosophy found expression in the *Vacana*-works of Basava. The well-known *Prabhulingalīle* of Cāmarasa (15th cent.) is a biography of Prabhu in Kannada, available also in its Telugu, Tamil and Marathi translations. The *Prabhulīla*, under study, is a *mahākāvya* in Sanskrit in eight cantos on the same theme, by Immaḍi Gurusiddha Svāmī (c. 1700), pontif of the Vīraśaiva monastery called Bṛhan-Maṭh at Chitradurga (Mysore State).

The work is preserved in a single manuscript, which is none too perfect, on which the present edition is based. The author is an erudite scholar and is capable of writing lucid poetry, as attested by several stanzas in the poem, but, for the most part, the present work is couched in a pedantic style. The Editor rightly observes that "the author prefers grandeur to grace" (Introduction, p. ii). This fact coupled with the defectiveness of the manuscript has made the work of the Editor rather exacting. Quite often he offers, in the footnotes, the meanings of abstruse expressions and emendations to corrupt readings, but instances are not wanting where he has to leave the reading of the manuscript as it is, with a query mark. Indeed, the text is replete with such cases that one wishes the Editor were more liberal with his notes. The edition carries in Kannada regular introductory notes on the author and the work and a synopsis of its contents, but the Introductions in English and Sanskrit, which alone could introduce the work to non-Kannada readers, are, all too brief and inadequate. They could have served their purpose better had they been more detailed.

Scholars and lovers of Sanskrit in general and of the Vīraśaivist religion in particular would be grateful to the Editor for placing before them this rare work in a readable edition.



*RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN MODERN BENGAL* By Benoy Gopal Ray. Visva-Bharati University, Santiniketan, 1965. Pp. viii+244. Rs. 10/50.

The book under review aims at making a broad survey of the various religious movements that arose in Bengal during the 19th and 20th centuries. The 'Bengal' the author has in view is the Bengal of the beginning of the 19th century when it comprised the present-day Bengal (East and West), Bihar, Orissa and Assam. And, his survey takes into its purview all shades of Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity which were followed by sections of the people of the region. Under each section the author gives brief biographical sketches of the pioneers of the various movements followed by the gist of the principal tenets expounded by them.

The book opens with an account of Brāhma Samāj started by Raja Rammohan Roy in protest against the rampant addiction to idolatry, social vices and superstitions among the Hindus. The Ramakrishna Mission organized by Svami Vivekananda to popularise the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahansa is dealt with in the second chapter. An endeavour is made herein to give an account also of the work of this organisation outside India. A chapter is devoted to the account of the Vaiṣṇavite, Śāktāite and Śāivite movements which came to the fore in protest against the ideologies of the Brāhma Samāj. The numerous minor institutions that started in the wake of Sādhus and Gurus, form the burden of the fourth chapter as also of Appendix III, where materials on the subject obtained later have been given. The numerous aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hill tracts had, during the early part of the 19th century, been influenced by Christian missionaries and the reformist currents in Hinduism. The changes in their religious beliefs and rituals have also been investigated in some detail.

The 19th century saw reformist movements also in Jainism and Buddhism which had greatly degenerated as distinct religions due to the influence of Hinduism during mediaeval times. The Mahābodhi Society and other institutions that arose in this wake receive due treatment in chapters seven and eight.

Islam and Christianity had, during the period under consideration, experienced reformist movements mainly towards their stabilising themselves in the land and to keep pace with the spread of Western civilization. These movements are dealt with in chapters nine and ten.



The last chapter of the work entitled 'Future Religion' forms an interesting discussion on the futurity of religion in general. The author classifies religious people into five types: the orthodox, the mystic, the service, the ethical and the agnostic. He does not believe that in the modern scientific age religions or religious faith will perish. He foresees a religion of 'eaches', by which he means the unique establishment by 'each' individual, of a personal relationship with God in his own manner, bereft of any prescribed dogma or traditional belief and ritual. This religion of 'eaches' would recognise in every individual the 'Eternal Man' of Tagore. The ideal relationship that would subsist according to this concept is one of love with joy or love with awe, which would mould one's life in society. This religion being traditionless, is expected, according to the author, to eschew religious intolerance and conduce to amity among the classes.

In the Appendices the author has given a brief account of 'Theosophy' and 'Sikhism' which too had percolated into the Bengal region.

The volume is well documented but the author often misses to give exact references. A good bibliography would have added to its value. The book has, however, a useful Index of Proper names. In fine, one may say without reservation that the author has done justice to the subject surveyed. His attempt is praiseworthy and it is to be hoped that it would inspire other scholars to make similar surveys of religious movements in the other parts of India.

The get-up and printing of the book are good and the price moderate.

B. B. CHAUBEY

*ŚABDAVṚTTIS (POWER OF WORDS)* By G. Marulasiddaiah, University of Mysore, 1966. Pp. xxxvi+180. Rs. 13/50.

The book under review, being an investigation into the potency of 'words' (speech) as discussed by the several schools of ancient Indian philosophical thought and a critical assessment thereof, and deservedly approved by the University of Mysore as a doctoral dissertation, is a valuable addition to the available literature on the subject. The purpose of the author is to explain the different views expressed and account for the "co-ordination of word and its meaning in life and literature" (p. 168). A study of [the book would convince one that the author has succeeded in fulfilling his promise.



All schools of Indian philosophy and grammar have taken note of the *vyrtti*, in one form or another. This subject has had different treatment in the different *Śāstras* and to arrive at any definite conclusion is not, therefore, an easy task. The author has done full justice to the topic not only by setting forth logically and discussing the traditional views of the different schools but also of modern linguisticians on the problem.

In the first chapter is discussed the historical evolution of the term *vyrtti*, followed, in the further chapters, by its connotations by *Abhidhā* (primary meaning), *Lakṣaṇā* (metaphor), *Sphoṭa* (explosive flash) and *Dhvani* (suggestion). The grammarian's point of view is elucidated first and then the viewpoints of the other schools of thought. The author's conclusions are summed up in the last chapter. According to him, "*Vyrtti* is a primary function of mind in understanding matter. It may be a gesture, sign, word or sentences." (p. 27). And, in poetry its essence is *vyañjanā* or *Dhvani*, the suggestive poetry (p. 171).

The book has got a bibliography but lacks an index which would have facilitated reference. The general production of the book is good but it is capable of improvement in the matter of accuracy and correctness in printing.

The book is a significant contribution to the study of Semantics.

SATYAPAL GUPTA

*ORIENTAL AND ASIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY* By J. D. Pearson,  
W. D. Willis, India House, Bombay-1, 1966. Pp. xvi+261.  
Rs. 21/-

Under the rather unpretentious title, *Oriental and Asian Bibliography*, the book reviewed here provides a far richer fare than would ordinarily be expected from a conventional bibliography. We have in this book a well documented and analytical survey of the sources of information on modern Oriental Studies from their inception. Written primarily as a textbook for the Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship of the London University, by the author, who is currently the Librarian of the School of Oriental and African Studies of that University, the book presents the subject in its full historical perspective. This, coupled with the profuse annotations and critical assessment of the source-books dealt with,



removes, from the work much of the dryness of the ordinary bibliography.

In pursuance of his objective, the author has divided the book into three Parts, entitled, 'Producers of literature', 'The literature and its controls' and 'Storehouses of the literature'. Part I forms a survey, equipped with ample bibliographical data, of the scope and history of Oriental, Asian and African Studies, and the organisations engaged in that branch of knowledge, and, as such, provides the historical backdrop for the succeeding Parts. In Part II, the author takes stock of the reference material available about Manuscript collections, catalogues and palaeography, and reference books, periodicals and bibliographies, general and special. Part III surveys the libraries in the world possessing substantial Oriental collections in the shape of books, periodicals and/or manuscripts. The last chapter in this Part is specially valuable, dealing, as it does, with the special problems affecting Orientalist libraries in the matters of acquisition, processing and personnel. In the different Parts, some note is taken of African studies also at the appropriate contexts. There is also an Appendix giving a country-wise list, with addresses, of booksellers specialising in publications on Asia and Africa.

As a composite 'Bibliography' of reference material pertaining to the entire area covered, Pearson's work easily ranks higher than other similar attempts like, for instance Winchell's *Guide to reference books* (Chicago), Bestermann's *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies* (Geneva), Walford's *Guide to reference material* (London) and Malclè's *Les Sources du travail bibliographique* (Geneva), in view of the rather poor representation given in them to books published in Asia. Even P. K. Garde's *Directory of reference works published in Asia* (Paris) suffers from limitations imposed on it by its having been compiled through the questionnaire method.

At the risk of striking a personal note, the present reviewer, who has been, for some time now, preparing a *Descriptive Bibliography of Indological Bibliographies*, may note that he has come across several pieces of information in Pearson's work, of which he was not aware of. In the same manner, he has also found that several pieces of information in his repertoire, mainly Indian, were yet to find a place among Pearson's sources, possibly, due to their non-availability in the U. K. libraries. The rate of production of books, today, being what it is, libraries can seldom be exhaustive, in the full sense of



the term. And, therefore, if not for any other reason, books on information research have to supplement one another. Examples may not be needed on this point.

There can be no two opinions on the worth of the present *Bibliography* and its high utility not only to the research worker in the discipline of Oriental Studies but to the trainee in library science and to the energetic librarian who desires to expand his holdings on Orientalia. All credit to Mr. Pearson for the production of this most useful handbook.

K. V. SARMA



## INDOLOGICAL NEWS AND NOTES

### INTERNAL

#### Membership

During the period from September 1966 to February 1967, 6 new Life Members (Subs. Rs. 250/-) and 22 new Annual Members (Subs. Rs. 10/-p. a.) joined the V. V. R. Institute Society.

#### 63rd Annual Day

The Institute celebrated its 63rd Annual Day on November 6, 1966 under the distinguished presidentship of Sri Dharma Vira, Governor of Panjab and Hariyana. Welcoming the President, Diwan Anand Kumar, Vice-President of the Institute and former Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, referred to the steady progress made by the Institute since its displacement from Lahore and re-establishment at Hoshiarpur in 1947 and indicated its potentialities for further development. The Director, Dr. Vishva Bandhu, after presenting the President with a Welcome Address in Sanskrit, outlined the various research and cultural work of the Institute and then, requested him to release formally the publications, numbering 57 containing over 6000 pages which had been issued by the Institute during the previous year, 1965-66. The President, then formally released the said publications. Shri Suraj Bhan, Vice-Chancellor of the Panjab University, expressed the hope that the integration of the Institute with the University would pave the way for the Institute's further development and contribution to Sanskrit and Indology. This was followed by the Address by the Director in which he dwelt upon the past history of the Institute, the salient features of its working and its plans towards future development. In his concluding Presidential Remarks, the Governor expressed his appreciation of the achievements of the Institute and assured it of the full support of the Panjab Government.

#### National honour to the Director

Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director, of the Institute, was honoured by the President of India with the National *Certificate of Honour* on the Republic Day on January 26, 1967.



### Dr. Siddheshwar Varma honoured

The Panjabi University, Patiala, conferred on Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Honorary Academic Adviser of the Institute, the degree of *Doctor of Literature (honoris causa) (in absentia)* in recognition of his contribution to the study of linguistics in general and to that of the Panjabi language in particular, at the convocation of the university held at Patiala on 4th February, 1967. The degree was, later on, delivered to Dr. Varma in person by the Vice-Chancellor of the University at a special function held at Dr. Varma's residence at Chandigarh on March 3, 1967. The Citation read :

"Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, who is not present in person, is a linguist and scholar of world-wide fame. He took his M.A. degree in history at the University of Panjab, Lahore, and subsequently took up linguistic studies, receiving the degree of *Doctor of Literature* at the University of London. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma knows 56 languages and has studied with his characteristic thoroughness five literatures, i.e., Sanskrit, Greek, English, Urdu and Tamil. He has prepared a Dictionary of 27 dialects which he has surveyed during the last 63 years. Besides his massive intellect and learning, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has the wisdom, discipline and humility of the Rishis of ancient times. To him his scholarly work is dearer than anything else and, now at the age of 80, he is devoting every minute of his retired life to his linguistic studies and maintains extensive correspondence with scholars in his field the world over. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has always taken a generous interest in this University's programme for the development of Panjabi language and his advice has been of immense value to the University in setting up its Department of Linguistics. As a token of the recognition of his unique contribution to the study of the science of language and his researches in the field of Panjabi linguistics, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has been recommended by the University for the conferment of the degree of Doctor of literature (*honoris causa*), which degree, I pray, may be conferred upon him *in absentia*."

### Prof. Charudeva Shastri honoured

The title of *Vidyā-Vāchaspati* was conferred on Prof. Charudeva Shastri, Honorary Academic Adviser of the Institute, on October 2, 1966, by the All India Sanskrit Sammelan at New Delhi, on the occasion of its Golden Jubilee Celebrations presided over by Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India.



### All India Oriental Conference

Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director of the Institute, was elected General President and Shri Jagannath Agrawal, Reader in Sanskrit at the Institute, to the Executive of the forthcoming 24th Session of the All India Oriental Conference to be held at Varanasi in 1968.

### Numismatic Society of India

Shri Jagannath Agrawal, Reader in Sanskrit at the Institute, was elected to the Executive of the Numismatic Society of India for a three-year period from 1967.

### Veda-Śāstra Saṅgraha

The *Veda-Śāstra Saṅgraha* (An anthology of the Vedas and Śāstras) edited by Acharya Vishva Bandhu, being volume I of the *Sahitya Ratnaśākhā*, a comprehensive anthology of Sanskrit literature planned by the Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Letters), Delhi, was published.

### Staff

Dr. Braj Bihari Chaubey, M.A., Ph.D. (Lecturer-cum-Asstt. Editor), Dr. Satya Pal Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Asstt. Lecturer-cum-Sub-Asstt. Editor) and Shri Om Prakash Kaushik, M.A., Sahityacharya (Research Scholar) joined the staff of the Institute.

### Publications

(a) The publications noted below were issued during the last six months :

#### (i) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*

No. 26 (a) *R̥gveda Mantra-pāṭhānukramaṇikā*, By Vishva Bandhu.

No. 26 (b) *R̥gveda Pada-pāṭhānukramaṇikā*, By Vishva Bandhu.

No. 26 (c) *R̥gveda Ṛṣi-Devatā-Chhandonukramaṇikā*, By Vishva Bandhu.

No. 36. *The Subhāṣita-Saṅgrahas as Treasuries of Caṇakya's Sayings*, By Ludwik Sternbach.

No. 37. *Vivekacandrodayam Nāṭakam* of Śivakavi, Cr. Ed., by K. V. Sarma.

No. 38. *Brahmaṇoddhāra-koṣa*, By Vishva Bandhu.

#### (ii) *Woolner Indological Series*

No. 8. *Jaina-Rajataranginī* of Srīvara and Śuka, Cr. Ed. by Sri Kant Kaul.

No. 12. *R̥gveda and the Indus Valley Civilization*, By Buddha Prakash.



(iii) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series*

No. 176-85. Being the Papers included originally in Vol. IV, Pt. ii of the V. I. Journal (September, 1966).

(iv) *Elementary Number Theory*, By Uspensky, Translated into Hindi, by C. L. Parti.

(v) *Subhāṣita Dainikī* ११६७ (Maxim Diary, 1967).

(vi) *Viśva-Saṁskṛtam* (Sanskrit Quarterly), IV, i-ii (Nov. 1966 and Feb. 1967).

(vii) *Vishva-Jyoti* (Hindi Monthly), XV, vii-xii (Sept. 1966 to Feb. 1967).

(b) The following publications were still being seen through the press :

1. *Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. II, *Brahmaṇas*, Revised Edn., by Vishva Bandhu.
2. *Vaitāna-Śrautasūtra of the Atharvaveda*, with the Commentary of Somāditya, Cr. Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.
3. *Caṇakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, Ed. by Ludwik Sternbach, Vol. II.
4. *Rājatarāṅginī* of Jonarāja, Cr. Ed. by Sri Kant Kaul.
5. *The Pratyabhijñā Philosophy* (Theory of Recognition), By R. K. Kaw.
6. *The Decline of the Punjab Kingdom, 1839-1845*, By B. R. Chopra.
7. *The Origin and Development of the Hariyanavi Dialect*, By Nanak Chand Sharma.
8. *Mathematical Methods of Statistics* By Herald Cramer, Hindi Translation, By C. L. Parti.
9. *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells, Hindi Translation.
10. *Statistical Methods* By G. D. Snedecor, Hindi Translation by Sukh Dev Singh.
11. *Vedasara* (General edition), By Vishva Bandhu.
12. *Prāśastikaśika* of Bālakṛṣṇa, Cr. Ed. by K. V. Sarma.

(c) The undermentioned works were among those in different stages of editing and press-processing :

1. *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, By Siddheshwar Varma.
2. *Āśvalāyana-Śrauta Sūtra*, with the commentaries of Siddhāntin, Devatrāta, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Devaśvāmin, and Nārāyaṇa.



3. *Drahyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, with the Commentary of Dhanvin.
4. *Upaniṣad-uddhāra-Koṣa*.
5. *Valmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, N. W. Recension, Revised Second Edition.

### Chandigarh Sub-office

#### (a) *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*

The revised draft of the Summary of *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, in about 1200 pages was typed out and is under checking, verification and final press-copying. About half the said work was finished.

#### (b) *Ancient Indian Phonetico-Grammatical Terminology*

The work of extracting and annotating basic material on the subject from the *R̥gveda-Pratīśakhya* was continued. 83 new terms were annotated upon bringing the corpus of terms thus treated to 2039.

### Dictionary of N.-W. Himalayan Dialects

The work of consolidation and editing of the Group (A) dialects, being Bhadravāhī, Khāsī, Khāśī, Khasālī, Bhalesī and Paḍārī was continued from letter 'd' to 'k'. Preparation of cards for group (B), being the dialects of the Kashmiri language, was completed (letter 'j' to the end). Of group (C) comprising of five dialects of Kangra district, preparation of cards was commenced. Letters 'ṭ' to 'l' were finished in about 2000 cards.

### Collection of Manuscripts

50 manuscripts were added to the Library, bringing the total to 10,124.

### Bibliography of Indological Dissertations

Work on the Annotated *Bibliography of Indological Dissertations* was progressing. Basic information was collected University-wise and about 800 scholars who were yet to send details about their work were duly reminded. An additional 300 proformas with the necessary details filled in have since been received. The attention of scholars and institutions is invited, in this connection, to the letter and proforma printed towards the close of these *News and Notes*.

### Hindi Sāhitya Sārīṇī

Basic work on this project which is intended to be an exhaustive bibliography of published Hindi Literature, was completed. The



draft of the *Sārīnī* comprising of 1754 pages, classified into 20 sections and comprising of more than 50,000 entries, was sent to the Central Hindi Directorate, New Delhi, for their approval.

### Translation into Hindi

(a) *Internal Work.* The translation of *A Story of Indian Culture* by Principal Bahadur Mal was being finalised for the press. Work on the translation of *Shri Krishna: His Philosophy and His Spiritual Path*, *Dayanand: A Study and Mental Health in Theory and Practice*, all by Principal Bahadur Mal, *Benjamin Franklin* by Carl Van Doran and *Fairy Tales* by Hans Anderson were being revised.

(b) *External Work.* *Elementary Number Theory* by Uspensky was published. The printing of *Statistical Methods* by G. D. Snedecor and *Mathematical Methods of Statistics* by Herald Cramer was continued and that of *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells was commenced.

### College Department

5 students were admitted to M.A. (Sanskrit) Pt. I and 6 to M.A., Pt. II. In the traditional wing, 5 students were enrolled for Shastri, Pt. II, 1 for Acharya Pt. II and 7 for Acharya, Pt. I. There were 10 students in Ratna (Hindi).

### Distinction won

The Institute team, comprising of Shri Krishna Bahadur (Acharya Pt. II) and Shri Suvir Nath (Acharya Pt. I) won the trophy in the Sanskrit elocution contest held at the Government College, Rohtak, on January 23, 1967.

### Viśva-Saṁskṛtam

The research-cum-literary Sanskrit Quarterly of the Institute, *Viśva-Saṁskṛtam*, entered its fourth year of publication. Numbers 1 and 2 of Volume IV, published in November 1966 and February 1967, carried, between themselves, 10 poems, 20 articles and a *prahasana* besides the other usual items.

### Vishva-Jyoti, National Security Number

*Vishva-Jyoti*, the monthly Hindi magazine of the Institute, entered the 16th year of its service in the propagation of Hindi and Indian Culture, in March 1967, with a *Special Number* entitled *Raṣṭra Rakṣa Aṅka* (National Security Number) No. I, which carried 19 poems, 20 articles and 2 one-act plays, besides other items, all devoted, mainly, to the treatment of the various aspects of the security



of India. No. II of this *Special Number* is to come out as the April 1967 issue of the *Journal*.

### Sarasvatī Samāj (Literary Circle)

During the monthly meetings of the Sarasvatī Samāj held on the last Friday of every month, the following talks were given by the respective speakers :

- 30-9-1966 : Shri Parmanand Gupta : *Vidarbha aur uske Prācīna Nagar* (Hindi) (Vidarbha and its Ancient Towns).  
 28-10-1966 : Shri Bhadrāsen : *Śodha-Prakriyā* (Hindi) (Technique of Research).  
 25-11-1966 : Shri Radhakrishnan : *Rath-Paricaya* (Hindi) (Development of the Chariot).  
 30-12-1966 : Shri K.V. Sarma : *Prācīna Bhārata Vādaprakriyā* (Skt.) (Technique of Debates in Ancient India).  
 27-1-1967 : Prof. Jagannath Agrawal : *Śaka Samvat* (Hindi) (The Śaka Era).  
 24-2-1967 : Dr. B. B. Chaubey : *Veda men Kampa Svāra* (Hindi) (Kampa Svāra in the Veda).

### Vishva-Satsanga (Universal Cultural Congregation)

The weekly Vishva-Satsanga meetings were held every Sunday evening. The gist of the talks, given at these meetings, were also being published in the Institute's Hindi Monthly *Vishva-Jyoti*. Some of the meetings were in the form of special functions for celebrating the birthdays of Sage Vālmiki, Swami Dayanand, Guru Nanak, Mahatma Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri and to celebrate the festivals of Janmāṣṭamī, Vijayadaśamī, Dipāvalī and Śivarātri.

### Special Programmes

- 27-11-1966 : Dr. Hans Peter Schmidt, Reader in Sanskrit, Tübingen University, (Germany) who was in India on a Scholars' Exchange Programme spoke on 'Ahimsā in the Veda' when he dealt with the genesis of the concept of 'non-injury' in Indian thought.  
 28-11-1966 : A discussion meeting, attended by Dr. Schmidt, Acharya Vishva Bandhu, Prof. Bhim Dev, Prof. J. N. Agrawal, Shri K. V. Sarma and Shri Virendra, was held when views were exchanged on problems relating to Vedic lexicography.



## Other Functions

- 22-1-1967 : Guru Govind Singh Tri-centenary was celebrated under the presidentship of Acharya Vishva Bandhu Principal Rala Ram, Prof Shyam Dev Parasar and others spoke on the occasion.
- 26-1-1967 : The Republic Day was celebrated at the Institute with the hoisting of the National Flag by the Director, who exhorted the audience on the prime need to meet the social and political problems facing the country today.
- 14-2-1967 : The Annual *Vasantotsava* was celebrated under the presidentship of Shri Sant Ram when prizes were given away to the successful participants in the Annual Sports held from 7th February 1967. Dr. B. B. Chaubey and Shri Virendra spoke on the occasion about the significance of *Vasantotsava*.
- 5-3-1967 : The Jayanti of Shri Dhani Ram Bhalla, founder of Sadhu Ashram, was celebrated under the presidentship of Principal Rala Ram. Acharya Vishva Bandhu gave a short sketch of the life of Shri Bhalla, bringing out his great qualities of head and heart. He made pointed mention also of the noble act of Shri Bhalla in offering the Institute an asylum which it stood in high need of when it was uprooted from Lahore in 1947 at the time of the Partition of India. Among those who spoke on the occasion were Shri Mastan Chand and Master Satdev.

## Visitors

Several distinguished persons and scholars visited the Institute during the last six months, of whom mention may be made of the following :

Shri Dharma Vira, Governor of Punjab and Hariyana, Diwan Anand Kumar (New Delhi), Shri Suraj Bhan (Chandigarh), Shri Surya Prakash Bagla (Hoshiarpur), Dr. Mathuradas Pahwa (Delhi), Prof. Ved Prakash (Sangrur), Prof. Ved Prakash Malhotra (Jullundur), Prof. Ramesh Chandra Awasthi (Lucknow), Dr. (Mrs.) Bina Chatterjee (New Delhi), Dr. Hans Peter Schmidt, Tübingen (Germany), Acharya Sandipanand Abdhut, Shri S. K. Swami (Chandigarh), Pt. Brahma Dutt Sharma (Jamnagar), and Dr. B. V. Subbarayappa (Delhi).



## EXTERNAL

**They are no more !**

- 6-11-1965 : Mr. Horace I. Poleman, Chief of the Orientalia Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and noted scholar of Indic Studies, at Georgetown, U.S.A, at the age of 60.
- 25-3-1966 : Dr. Vladimir Fedorovich Minorsky, renowned scholar of Iranian and Professor Emeritus of the University of London, at London, at the age of 89.
- 14-8-1966 : Pt. T. V. Venkateswara Dikshitar, erudite scholar in Sanskrit and Principal, Sanskrit College, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, at Bombay, at the age of 73.
- 19-9-1966 : Mrs. Usha Devi Mitra, well-known Hindi writer, author of over 800 short stories and 12 novels, at Jabalpur, at the age of 70.
- 25-9-1966 : MM. Mathura Prasad Dixit, eminent Sanskrit scholar and author of over 30 books, Honorary Professor of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, at Varanasi, at the age of 92.
- 26-9-1966 : Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, lover of Sanskrit, eminent scholar, educationist and administrator, at London, at the age of 86.
- 12-10-1966 : Shri Shyam Charan Dutt Pant, Hindi author and poet, at village Malauz in Almora, at the age 65.
- 19-10-1966 : M. Edouard Dhorme, eminent scholar on the civilizations of the Middle East and Joint Editor of the well-known *Annales du Musée Guimet* and *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, Paris, at Paris, at the age of 85.
- 8-11-1966 : Dr. Kalidas Nag, the eminent historian and Indologist, at Calcutta, at the age of 74.
- 14-11-1966 : Sir Rustom Pestonji Masani, eminent educationist, writer and orientalist, at Bombay, at the age of 90,
- 19-11-1966 : Father C. K. Mattam, prolific writer and eminent scholar of Sanskrit and Malayalam, at Kottayam (Kerala), at the age of 78,
- 15-12-1966 : Manjeri S. Eswaran, well-known writer in Malayalam and English and formerly Secretary of the National Book Trust India, at Delhi, at the age of 56.



- 25-12-1966 : Cherulayil Kunjunni Nambissan, eminent Malayalam poet, writer and translator of several Sanskrit works into Malayalam, at his home-town of Tiruvegappura (Kerala), at the age of 67.
- 26-12-1966 : Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, noted statesman, scholar and philanthropist, at Chandigarh, at the age of 76.
- 3-1-1967 : Shri R. K. Prabhu, veteran journalist, writer and researcher on the Vedas, at Mangalore, at the age of 85.
- 8-1-1967 : Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, eminent Sanskrit scholar and formerly General Editor of the Critical Edition of the *Mahabharata* by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, at Poona, at the age of 86. (For a detailed *Obituary Note*, see above, pp. 114-16).
- 10-1-1967 : Dr. Radha Binod Pal, eminent jurist, writer and educationist of Bengal and author of books on Indian philosophy, at Calcutta, at the age of 82.
- 13-1-1967 : Prof. H. D. Velankar, the eminent Sanskrit and Vedic scholar and Professor of Sanskrit in the Bombay University, at Bombay, at the age of 74.
- 23-2-1967 : Dr. A. Sankaran, all-round Sanskrit scholar, formerly Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, and Asstt. Editor, Dictionary Department, Deccan College, Poona, at Poona, at the age of 69.
- 27-2-1967 : Shri Sri Ram Sharma, noted Hindi litterateur and editor of '*Vishal Bharat*' at Agra, at the age of 71.
- 20-3-1967 : Dr. N. J. Shende, eminent Vedic Scholar and Senior Reader in the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Poona University, at Poona, at the age of 58.

### Scholars Honoured

The Banaras Hindu University conferred the degree of *Doctor of Letters (honoris causa)* on Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, Dr. Karan Singh, Governor of Jammu and Kashmir and Chairman, Central Sanskrit Board, and MM. Dr. D. V. Potdar, former Vice-chancellor of the Poona University, at its convocation held on February 14, 1967.

Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, Hon. Academic Adviser of the Vishveshvaranand Institute, was honoured by the conferment on him of the degree of *Doctor of Literature (honoris causa)* by the Panjabi University, Patiala, at its convocation held on February 4, 1967.



MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, Bombay, the veteran Indologist and National Professor of Sanskrit, was honoured on February 6, 1967, with the presentation to him of the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Copper Plaque by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

The Visva Bharati University conferred the title of *Deśikottama*, equivalent to *Doctor of Literature*, (*honoris causa*) on Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the eminent linguist and National Professor in Humanities, Calcutta, and Prof. C. A. Moore, well-known American philosopher and scholar of Indian Philosophy, on December 24, 1966.

Among those honoured by the President of India on the Republic Day, on the 26th January 1967, with the title of *Padma Bhushan*, were the eminent Sanskritists MM. Dr. D. V. Potdar, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Poona University and Shri K. K. Handique, former Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, the philosopher Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Professor of Philosophy, Madras University, and the eminent educationists Shri K. G. Saiyidain and Dr. D. C. Pavate, Vice-Chancellor of the Karnatak University.

The honour of *Padma Shri* was conferred on the eminent art-critic Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Chairman, Lalit Kala Akademi (National Academy of Fine Arts), Shri C. C. Mehta, eminent Gujarati poet and playwright, Shri Krishna Chandra Moreshwar *alias* Daji Bhat Wadekar Producer of Sanskrit and Marathi plays and Mayadhar Mansinha, eminent Oriya poet.

Five veteran Vaidik Pandits G. S. Thakar (Poona), S. W. Natu (Sangli), P. L. Dikshit (Nasik), B. S. Dharmadhikari (Ambe Jogai) and G. V. Sathe (Shelwad) were honoured with a *Scroll of Honour* and prizes of Rs. 1000/- each for their proficiency in reciting one or more Vedas, on October 23, 1966 at a special function presided over by the Governor of Maharashtra.

Dr. Radhakrishnan awarded on October 2, 1966 the title of *Vidya Vachaspati* on the Sanskrit scholars Dr. Hajime Nakamura (Tokyo, Japan), Shri Ramanatha Dikshitar (Madras), Shri Vidya Dhar Shastri (Rajasthan), Shri Charudev Shastri (Delhi), and Shri K. K. Shastri (Ahmedabad) on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the All-India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan at New Delhi.

Shri Prem Kirpal, Educational Advisor to the Government of India, Chairman, National Commission of India to the UNESCO and Member of the Vishveshvaranand Institute, was awarded the Honorary Degree of *Doctor of Laws* by the Temple University,



Philadelphia (U.S.A.) at a convocation held on Feb. 9, 1967, when he also delivered the Convocation Address there.

The Leeds University, U. K., the leading centre for the study of Commonwealth Literature, is to honour on May 26, 1967, the internationally famous Indian novelist, Shri R. K. Narayan, with the award of the degree of *Doctors of Letters (honoris causa)*.

### Jnanpith Award

Mahakavi G. Sankara Kurup, noted poet of Kerala was awarded on November 19, 1966, the highest Indian award of one lakh of rupees instituted by the Bharatiya Jnanpith, Calcutta. His *Oṭakkuzhal* (the Flute), a collection of poems in Malayalam was adjudged as the best creative literary writing in Indian languages published during 1920-1958.

### Artistes honoured

Among the artistes honoured by the Sangeet Natak Akademi by the conferment on them of the *Fellowships* of the Akademi by Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India, at New Delhi, on January 2, 1967, were Maharaja Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar (Mysore), Sombhu Mitra, E. Krishna Iyer (Madras) and Asutosh Bhattacharya (Calcutta).

Honorary degrees of *Doctorates of Literature* were conferred on January 10, 1967 upon Shri J. N. Roy, eminent artist and Shrimati M. S. Subbulakshmi, international exponent of South Indian music, by the Rabindra Bharati University, Calcutta.

### Certificates of Honour

National *Certificates of Honour* were awarded to the under-mentioned six Sanskrit and two Urdu scholars on the occasion of the Indian Republic Day on January 26, 1967 : Dr. Vishva Bandhu (Hoshiarpur), Prof. P. M. Mehta (Baroda), Pt. Kolluru Somasekhara Sastry (Modekurru, A. P.), Pt. V. R. Srinivasa Tatachariar (Kanchipuram), Prof. Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya (Varanasi), Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi (Daryabad, U. P.) and Qazi Sajjad Hussain (Delhi).

### Sahitya Akademi Awards

The eleven Sahitya Akademi awardees for outstanding literature for the period 1963-65, awarded on March 11, 1967, include Jainendra Kumar (Hindi), V. Raghavan (Sanskrit), Manoja Basu (Bengali), Ambikagiri Ray Choudhury (Assamese), Pt. Narasimhachar (Kannada), Yashodhar Jha (Maithili), Kuttikrishna Marar (Malayalam), T. S. Shejwalker (Marathi), Godavarish Mahapatra (Oriya), Lekhraj Kishinchand Aziz (Sindhi) and M. P. Sivagnanam (Tamil).



### German Institute of Oriental Studies

The German Institute of Oriental Studies, Beirut, has opened an Indian Branch at Hyderabad (Deccan). Dr. Hans Krause is the Director of this Branch which is housed in the Institute of Asian Studies, Hyderabad.

### Veda Bhavana

A Veda Bhavana where the oral tradition of *Sāmaveda* is proposed to be taught to Bengali boys was inaugurated on February 12, 1967 at Calcutta, on the banks of the Hooghly.

### Vedic Studies

The Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanam of Andhra Pradesh has started a series of Examinations in the Vedas, the Śāstras and the Āgamas. Special attention is being paid to the resuscitation of the nearly extinct branches of *Atharva* and *Yajur Vedas*.

### Centre for Advaitic Research

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, laid on November 20, 1966, the foundation stone at New Delhi of the *Sankara Advaita Vidyashrama*, an institution for the study of and research on the spiritual heritage of India, especially the philosophy of Monism (*Advaita Vedanta*).

### Ayurvedic University

India's first Ayurvedic University was inaugurated by Shri Morarji. Desai, Deputy Prime Minister of India, at Jamnagar on January 5, 1967.

### Council for Indian Medicine

Steps are afoot for the setting up of a Central Council for the Indian Systems of medicine by the Central Government.

### Ayurvedic Institute

An Institute of Ayurvedic Post-graduate Studies and Research is in the offing at Lucknow with the local Ayurvedic College as the nucleus.

### Central Institute of Languages

A Central Institute of Modern Indian Languages is being set up in the Fourth Five-year Plan. The 49-member Bhāratīya Bhasha Samiti of experts which met in New Delhi on November 28, 1966, has decided to set up also State-wise Institutes of Indian Languages.



### **Cell for the Study of Hariyanavi**

A special Cell has been created in the Directorate of Languages, Hariyana, to undertake research in Hariyanavi culture and to publish five books on Hariyanavi sub-dialects and a dictionary of each sub-dialect. A five-volume encyclopaedia on Hariyanavi culture and mythology has also been planned.

### **Academy of Hariyanavi Culture**

An Academy of Hariyanavi Culture and Folk-lore is being set up in the Kurukshetra University.

### **Advanced Studies in Panjabi**

An Institute for Advanced Studies in Panjabi has been started at Patiala by the Panjabi University to facilitate study and research in Panjabi language and literature. The Institute envisages also a long publication programme:

### **National Book Development Council**

The UNESCO is to set up an advisory body named National Book Development Council for making a survey of educational requirements and problems of copyright etc. in India.

### **Premchand Memorial**

A Memorial Museum dedicated to Munshi Premchand, the renowned Hindi writer, constructed by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha, was inaugurated on January 29, 1967, at Lamahi, his birth-place, seven miles from Varanasi.

### **Academy of Art and Culture**

The Birla Academy of Art and Culture, a centre for promoting fine arts, music, literature and archaeology started functioning at Calcutta from January 9, 1967.

### **West Asian Studies**

The Aligarh Muslim University is to establish shortly a Centre of West Asian Studies towards instituting study and research on the civilizations of the Middle East with reference to India.

### **Bilingual Dictionaries**

The Central Hindi Directorate, New Delhi, has undertaken the preparation of fourteen bilingual dictionaries of Hindi and other Indian languages to facilitate the study and propagation of Hindi.

### **Books on Guru Govind Singh**

30 volumes in English and fifteen other Indian languages, produced by the Guru Govind Singh Foundation, New Delhi, on the life



and teachings of the Guru, were released on January 15, 1967 at New Delhi by Dr. Radhakrishnan, President of India.

### **All-India Oriental Conference**

The 23rd Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held under the auspices of the Muslim University, Aligarh, from October 28 to 30, 1966, and was presided over by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Dean of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

### **Colloquium on Indian Culture**

A four-day All-India Colloquium on Indian Culture under the chairmanship of Shri K. M. Munshi was held at the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay-7, from Dec. 30, 1966 to Jan. 2, 1967.

### **Sanskrit Sammelan**

The three-day long Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the All India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan were held at New Delhi from October 2, 1966.

### **Sanskrit Convention**

A three-day Rajasthan Sanskrit Sahitya Convention was held at Manoharpur, 23 miles from Jaipur, from Dec. 24 to 26, 1966. The foundation-stone of a Sanskrit Teaching Centre was also laid on the occasion.

### **Summer Institute in Sanskrit**

A 9-day Summer Institute and Seminar on Sanskrit Education was held under the auspices of the Department of P. G. Studies and Research in Sanskrit, Mysore University, Mysore, from 20. 3. 1967.

### **All-India Sanskrit Elocution Contest**

The All-India Sanskrit Elocution Contest arranged annually for students by the Central Ministry of Education was held at the Lal Bahadur Shastri Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi, on December 24 and 25, 1966.

### **Vedic Lectures**

A series of 32 lectures in Sanskrit on the Vedas and their interpretation was delivered under the auspices of the Madras Sanskrit Education Society by Pt. Daivarata Sharma, Founder-head of the Rishikula Yogashrama, Gokarna (Mysore) from September 23 to November 8, 1966.

### **Seminar on Kālidāsa**

A three-day Seminar on Kālidāsa was held at Ujjain under the auspices of the Vikram University from Nov. 24 to 26, 1966.



## Seminar on Dhvani

A four-day Seminar on the 'Origin and Development of the Dhvani School in Sanskrit' was held in the Kurukshetra University from September 24 to 27, 1966.

## All India Hindi Conference

The 22nd Session of the Bharatiya Hindi Parishad was held at Ujjain under the auspices of the Vikram University from 26 to 28, December 1966 and was presided over by Dr. Harabans Lal Sharma, Head of the Hindi Deptt., Aligarh Muslim University.

## Mānas Sāadhan Maṇḍal

The Fifth Convention of Mānas Sāadhan Maṇḍal, an organization devoted to the scientific study of the tenets of *Ramacarita Manas* of Saint Tulasīdās was held at New Delhi from November 13 to 15, 1966.

## Philosophical Congress

The 40th Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress was held at Jodhpur from Dec. 8 to 11, 1966 under the auspices of Jodhpur University. Prof. J. N. Chubb presided over the Congress.

## Spiritual Regeneration Movement

The Eighth World Assembly of the Spiritual Regeneration Movement was held at the India International Centre, New Delhi, from January 15 to 17, 1967 when Maharishi Mahesh Anand expounded his technique of Transcendental Meditation.

## All-India Jain Conference

The second annual Session of the Jain Darshan and Samskriti Parishad, convened by the Therapanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, was held at Vidasar (Churu, Rajasthan) from Oct. 20 to 26, 1966.

## Theosophical Convention

The 91st International Convention of the Theosophical Society was held at Varanasi on December 26, 1966 under its International President, Shri Sri Ram.

## International Buddhist Seminar

The sixth Summer Seminar of the International Buddhist Institute was held at Hakone (Japan) from July 1 to 4, 1966 under auspices of the Komazawa University, Japan.

## Indian History Congress

The 28th session of the Indian History Congress took place at Mysore from Dec. 29 to 31, 1966 under the auspices of the



Mysore University and was presided over by Dr. B. P. Saxena (Allahabad).

### **Indian Historical Records Commission**

The 37th session of Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Delhi University from October 7 to 9, 1966 under the presidency of Shri Prem Kirpal. An exhibition of important documents from several State Archives and another on the 'Gokhale Collection' in the National Archives had also been arranged for the occasion.

### **Institute of Indian Historical Studies**

The Fourth Conference of the Institute of Indian Historical Studies, Calcutta, was convened on January 1, 1967 at the Mysore University.

### **Indo-American Historical Congress**

The first session of the Indo-American Historical Congress was held at Bangalore under the auspices of the Bangalore University in December, 1966.

### **Panjabi History Conference**

The second session of the Panjabi History Conference was held on October 28-30, 1966 at Patiala under the presidency of Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, Professor of History, Delhi University.

### **Seminar on Guru Gobind Singh**

A six-day seminar on 'Guru Govind Singh, Sikhism and Modern Society' was held at Simla under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in September, 1966.

### **Seminar on Kerala History**

A Seminar held under the auspices of the Kerala History Association discussed on 3-4, September 1966, a 'scheme for writing the History of Kerala' proposed by Prof. K. V Krishna Aiyar. The said history is planned to be published in 1969.

### **Seminar on Inscriptions**

A two-day seminar on Inscriptions organized by the Madras Department of Archeology, was held at the Government Museum, Madras, on October 8 and 9, 1966 under the presidentship of Prof. Meenakshisundaran, Vice-Chancellor, University of Madurai. An exhibition of inscriptions, was also held on the occasion.



## Numismatic Society of India

The 55th session of the Numismatic Society of India was held at the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi on 23rd to 25th December 1966 under the presidentship of Dr. M. Rama Rao, Professor of History, S. V. University, Tirupati.

## New Journals

*Malaya-Maruta*, a Quarterly in Sanskrit, devoted mainly to the publication of critical editions of shorter Sanskrit texts has been started by the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith (Central Sanskrit Institute), Tirupati.

The *Mysore Orientalist*, the research organ of the Oriental Research Institute and the Deptt. of P. G. Studies in Sanskrit, University of Mysore, Mysore, made its debut on 20. 3. 1967.

## Research in Āyurveda

Under the auspices of the Indian Council of Medical Research, advanced study and research in indigenous medicine has been taken up. Five annual prizes have also been announced for discoveries in Āyurveda.

## Lectures on Āyurveda

A series of lectures on the 'Ancient system of Āyurveda' was inaugurated by Shri Shiv Sharma at the Government Ayurvedic College, Patiala, on October 30, 1966.

## Jyotisha Sammelan

The All-India Jyotisha Sammelan was held at New Delhi on December 24, 1966.

## P. E. N. Conference

The VIII P. E. N. All-Indian Writers' Conference was held at Chandigarh under the auspices of the Panjab University from 23 to 26, Dec. 1966. An exhibition of books, photographs and manuscripts of contemporary and past Indian writers had also been organised on that occasion.

## P. E. N. Round Table

An International P. E. N. Round Table Discussion commenced at Arnhem (Netherlands) on Sept. 28, 1966 on the 'Role of the Theatre in the World today', when problems relating to modern Sanskrit drama were presented by Smt. Leela Row Dayal.



### **Seminar on Indian Literature**

A two-week seminar on 'Contemporary Indian Literature' was held at Simla from Oct. 20, 1966 under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study.

### **Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad**

The Diamond Jubilee of the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad, Poona, was celebrated in November, 1966, at Poona, when a special session of the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan was also held.

### **Educational Conference**

The 41st session of the All-India Educational Conference was held at New Delhi from Dec. 20 to 31, 1966. Shri R. K. Nehru, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University presided.

### **BHU Golden Jubilee**

The Banaras Hindu University celebrated its Golden Jubilee at Varanasi from February 9 to 15, 1967. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, President of India, delivered the Jubilee Convocation Address on February 14, 1967.

### **IASLIC Seminar**

The Fourth All-India Seminar of the Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres was held at Hyderabad from 17th to 20th December, 1966.

### **Symposium on Libraries**

A symposium on 'Libraries in the life of a nation' was held at the Central State Library, Chandigarh, on December 25, 1966. The Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Panjab Library Association were also held alongside.

### **Library Architecture**

The Indian International Centre, New Delhi, conducted a Study Group of Library Architecture on March 11, 1967 along with the Conference of Commonwealth Association of Architects held under its auspices and was attended by 45 delegates from 23 countries.

### **National Book Fair**

The National Book Fair organised by the National Book Trust India was held at Bombay, from Nov. 5 to 20, 1966.

### **Exhibition of Hindi Books**

The Central Hindi Directorate held jointly with the Writers' Association (SPCS) of Kerala, an Exhibition of Hindi Books at Kottayam (Kerala) on Jan. 6 and 7, 1967.



### East West Theatre Seminar

A week-long East-West Theatre Seminar, in which 30 countries participated, held under the auspices of the International Theatre Institute, the Bharat Natya Sangh, the Central Ministry of Education and the UNESCO, was inaugurated at New Delhi on October 24, 1966 by Dr. Radhakrishnan.

### Conference of Artists

A two-day Conference of Artists and Art-critics sponsored by the Lalit Kala Akademi (National Academy of Fine Arts) was held at New Delhi on January 15 and 16, 1967 under the chairmanship of Dr. Mulk Raj Anand to consider the setting up of an artists' organization affiliated to the International Association of Artists.

### Jaipur Arts Festival

A *Jaipur Arts Festival*, 1967, including educative and entertaining exhibitions of paintings, sculptures and handicrafts, besides programmes of music, dance and folk-arts, was held from March 11 to 19, 1967 under the joint auspices of the Max Müller Bhavan, the Sangeet Natak and Lalita Kala Akademies of Rajasthan and the Rajasthan Tarun Kalakar Parishad.

### Exhibition of Arts

An International *Exhibition of Communicative Art India 1966* was organized at Bombay, in August 1966 by the Indian Junior Chamber. The Exhibition is to be shifted, ultimately, to Kyoto (Japan) for the forthcoming J.C. I. World Congress.

### Compulsory Study of Sanskrit

Sanskrit is going to be a compulsory subject in two Secondary Schools at the divisional headquarters and one at the district level in Rajasthan. Establishment of a Sanskrit University in the State is also under consideration.

### Sanskrit on A. I. R.

The Delhi Station of All India Radio has, from November 23, 1966, started broadcasting Sanskrit lessons from Delhi every Tuesday and Friday from 6-15 to 6-30 p.m.

### Sindhi Language

The Parliament of India approved on Dec. 9, 1966, the inclusion of Sindhi as the 15th National Language of India.



### Grammatical Theories in Tamil

A Seminar on 'Grammatical Theories in Tamil' was held in July 1966 under the auspices of the Linguistics Department of the Annamalai University.

### Tamil Literature

A *Who is Who of Tamil Literature*, giving biographical data and bibliographical information about the literary productions of 1146 writers was published on the occasion of the 14th Annual Conference of Tamil Writers held at Madras on Dec. 3 and 4, 1966.

### Ancient Tamil Poet

*Kamban-medu*, the birth-place of the twelfth century poet-saint of South India and author of the Tamil classic *Kamba-Ramāyana* has been declared a protected monument by the Government of Madras.

### UNESCO Aid to Temple Renovation

The renovation of the famous Raṅganātha (Viṣṇu) temple at Srirangam (Madras State) is being taken up with financial assistance from the UNESCO.

### Pre-historic Elephant-skeleton

A thirteen feet tall complete skeleton of a two million-year-old giant elephant was unearthed in Kenya and was transferred to the National Museum, Nairobi, in February 1967.

### Oldest Bone discovered

In Kenya a human upper arm bone, estimated to be two and a half million years old was unearthed in January 1967 by Prof. Bryan Patterson of the Cambridge University Museum of Comparative Zoology.

### DA Vinci Mss.

About 700 pages of mss. and drawings by Leonardo da Vinci, the renowned Italian painter, which remained lost for two centuries, were discovered in February 1967 and deposited in the National Library of Spain.

### Loss to the Art World

Unprecedented floods in Italy in November 1966 caused immense damage to the art treasures of Florence, when over 600 paintings and 1000 mss., including Indian, and books of incalculable historical value belonging to the National Library, were partly destroyed. Similar damage and loss have occurred also in Venice and Rome.



## INDOLOGY ABROAD

**Centre for Indian Studies in Rochester**

The South Asia Language and Area Centre of the University of Rochester (U.S.) has started an extensive programme of studies including Sanskrit, Hindi and Pali, and Indian civilization, history, geography and art.

**South-Asian Studies at Illinois**

The University of Illinois at Urbana (U.S.) is to conduct an Inter-University Rotating Summer Programme in South Asian Studies, in which, among other subjects, provision has been made for the teaching of eight Indian languages : Bengali, Hindi, Kashmiri, Persian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Prof. Braj. B. Kachru of the Department of Linguistics of the University is the Academic Director of the Seminar.

**Chair for Indian Music at New York**

Ravi Shankar, the renowned Indian musician, has been appointed Visiting Professor of Eastern Music at the City College, New York.

**Art Symposium**

An Asian Art Symposium was held at San Francisco from Aug. 29 to Sept. 2, 1966 in which 250 experts from America and Asia participated. Among the Indians who attended were Shri C. Sivaramamurthi, National Museum, Delhi, and Moti Chandra, Museum of Western India, Bombay.

**Master Bronzes of India**

The Asia Society, New York, conducted a month-long Exhibition, till Dec. 11, 1966, of *Master Bronzes of India* in the Asia House Gallery, New York. The Exhibition was previously shown at Cleaveland, Chicago and Kansas City.

**Buddhist Centre in East Germany**

A Buddhist Research Centre has been started in the Halle University, East Germany. A *Buddhist Yearly* edited Prof. Heinz Mode, the Director of the Centre, is also to be issued regularly by this organization.

**Belgian Orientalists**

The Fourth Assembly of Belgian Orientalists was held at the University Foundation of Brussels in the beginning of June 1966.

**World Fellowship of Buddhists**

The World Fellowship of Buddhists held its deleberations in Thailand on November 8, 1966.



## COMING EVENTS

**International Congress of Orientalists**

The 27th *International Congress of Orientalists* will be held at Ann Arbor (Michigan, U.S.A.), from August 13 to 19, 1967 with Dr. W. Norman Brown as its General President. Prof. Russel H. Fifield of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, is the Secretary General of the Congress.

**International Conference of Asian History**

The next Session of this Conference sponsored by the International Association of Historians of Asia is to be held in Malaya in August 1968 under the auspices of the University of Malaya (Deptt. of History), Kuala Lumpur (Malayesia).

**International Tamil Conference**

The Second *International Tamil Conference-Seminar* will be held in Madras in 1968. Switzerland has volunteered to play host to the Third Conference.

**International Council of Archives**

The next Conference of the International Council of Archives will be held in Madrid (Spain) in 1968.

**World Art**

The next Triennial of Contemporary World Art is to be held in the first week of 1968 under the auspices of the Lalit Kala Akademi (Indian National Academy of Fine Arts) at New Delhi.



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The items of information which are needed for the annotations are indicated in the Proforma which is attached herewith.

It will be appreciated if you might kindly extend your co-operation to us towards this project by filling in the said Proforma, or a copy thereof, with the necessary details in respect of your Doctoral Dissertation and sending it back to this Institute at the earliest, if you have not done so, already.

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**PRAŚASTIKĀŚIKĀ**  
**OF**  
**BĀLAKR̥ṢṆA TRIPĀṬHIN**

**Critically Edited with Introduction**

*By*

**K. V. SARMA**

**Curator, Vishveshvaranand Institute  
of Sanskrit and Indological Studies**

होशियारपुरम्

**HOSHIARPUR**

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## FOREWORD

The present volume, being No. 39 of the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series* of our Institute is a critical edition of *Prasastikaṣikā* of Bālakṛṣṇa, an interesting work on the technique of letterwriting in medieval India. The work deals with specimen letters for different classes and stations in the society, like the four main castes, the teacher, the sannyāsin, the poet, the members of the family and others. The specimens given by the author enable a probe also into the social pattern prevailing when the work was written.

The edition is based on eleven manuscripts preserved in our Library, as also elsewhere. I desire to place on record my high appreciation of the work done by Shri K. V. Sarma, Curator in this Institute, in presenting this interesting work before scholars in a critical edition with an informative Introduction.

Likewise, it is a pleasure to express my satisfaction at the work done by the Publication Department of our Institute and the V.V.R.I. Press in bringing out this volume in proper form.

VISHVA BANDHU

Vishveshvaranand Institute,  
Hoshiarpur,  
'Śivaratri',  
March 9, 1967.



# FOREWORD

The present volume, being the 30th of the *Pravachanam* series of our Institute is a critical edition of *Pravachanam* of Maharshi, an interesting work on the technique of interpreting the Vedas. The work deals with spiritual laws for different classes and stations in the society like the four varnas, the four ashramas, the four stages of life, the members of the family and so on. The *Pravachanam* given by the author enables a reader to enter the spiritual path in a simple and direct manner.

This edition is based on the original manuscript preserved in our library, as also the *Pravachanam* I desire to place on record my high appreciation of the work done by Sri K. V. Sarma, Editor in this Institute, in presenting this interesting work before scholars in a critical edition with an informative introduction.

Moreover, it is a pleasure to express my satisfaction at the work done by the Publication Department of our Institute and the V.V.K. Press in bringing out this volume in proper form.

VEDA SAMITHI

Vishwavidyalaya, Tiruvananthapuram

Madras

March 2, 1957

March 2, 1957



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## INTRODUCTION

### Praśastikāśikā

Of the several social disciplines, like the fine arts, horticulture, handicrafts, sports and pastimes, which have been analytically studied and have received scientific treatment in ancient India, Letter-writing is one. Quite a number of standard works on the subject are known in Sanskrit, among which the *Praśastikāśikā* of Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, presented here in a critical edition, is one which enjoyed high popularity. As a representative of this subject, the present work is especially noteworthy in that it enables a probe into a rather obscure aspect of ancient and mediaeval Indian social life, viz., personal correspondence. It would be interesting to institute a comparison between present-day practices and those which prevailed in olden times and to make a comparative study between manuals of letter-writing of today and their ancient Indian counterparts.

### Letter-writing in ancient India

Communication through the written letter is but the natural outgrowth of the introduction of writing and advancement of civilization in the social and political spheres requiring the conveyance of information in ways other than through the word of mouth.<sup>1</sup> That the mode of communication through letters had been in common use in India from early times is apparent from references to epistles in early literature.<sup>2</sup> By the classical period, the practice should have become highly popular, for, apart from casual references to sending messages

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1. For *Likhita* (Writing) and *Paṣhita* (Reading) being recognized as *kalā-s* (arts, to be acquired by the cultured elite), see the List of 72 *Kalās* enumerated in the *Kalpāntarvācyāni*, a commentary on the Jain *Kalpasūtra*. Cf. A. Venkatasubbiah, *The Kalās*, (Adyar, Madras, 1911), p. 57. For Writing as one of the 64 arts, see *ibid.*, pp. 18, 41, 58. On Writing in general in ancient India, see G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (Bombay, 1904), pp. 1-15; G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India (Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā)*, (Ajmer, 1918), pp. 1-16; Raj Bali Pandey, *Indian Palaeography* (Varanasi, 1957), pp. 1-22.

2. For references from early Hindu literature, see under the words *Patra*, *Likh-*, *Lekha*, *Lekhā* in Monier-Williams, *Skt.-Eng. Dict.*, and for similar references from Buddhist literature, see Rhys Davids, *Pali-Eng. Dict.*, *sub voce*.



in writing, works in classical Sanskrit quote letters in full where contexts required them.<sup>3</sup>

### Literature on Letter-writing

In the case of public transactions like royal decrees, monetary dealings and legal documents, the subject came to be codified in detail in the Arthaśāstra works, the Smṛtis and allied literature. Manuals relating to private and social correspondence appeared only later. We have, on the latter subject, besides minor *ad hoc* tracts, available either independently or as parts of bigger works,<sup>4</sup> a good number of regular textbooks written during the period commencing from A.D. 1000. The *Lekhakamuktāmaṇi* of Haridāsa (Ms., Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, [CC] I. 546<sup>a</sup>), *Prāśasti* of Bhāskara, son of Āyājibhaṭṭa (Mss. CC II. 80<sup>a</sup>, III. 68<sup>a</sup>), *Prāśastiratnākara* of Dalapatirāya (CC III. 68<sup>a</sup>) are works of this nature. The anonymous *Lekhapañcāśikā* (CC I. 546<sup>a</sup>), composed in A. D. 1232, containing fifty specimen letters and other documents, *Prāśastikāprakaraṇa* or *Prāśastividhiparamparā* (CC II. 80<sup>a</sup>), *Prāśasti* (CC I. 357<sup>b</sup>) and *Patraprāśasti* (CC II. 70<sup>a</sup>, 209<sup>a</sup>, III. 68<sup>a</sup>) also belong to this class. Works on the subject available in print are *Patrapaddhati* by Nemicaṇḍra Yati (Madras, 1921), *Vijñaptiratnāvali* by Nārāyaṇaprasāda Miśra (Bombay, Saṁ. 1970), *Prāśastimālā* (Ed. Kuśeśvara Śarmaṇ, Banaras-Darbhangā, 1928), *Prāśastiprakāśikā*, containing the works *Patrakaumudī* attributed to Vararuci and two anonymous works entitled *Lipicandrikā* and *Lipipaddhati* (Ed. Kṛṣṇalāla Deva, Calcutta, Śaka 1764) and *Lekhapaddhati* (Ed. C. D. Dalal, GOS 19, Baroda, 1925). Of the *Prāśastikāśikā* of Bālakṛṣṇa edited here, too, an old edition is known,<sup>5</sup> but all efforts made to procure and use this eighty-year-old edition for the present editorial work were of no avail.

### Codification of the Art

The analytical thinking and scientific treatment characteristic of Śāstraic works in Sanskrit are evident in the works on letter-writing as

3. See, for instance, *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V), *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act III), *Ratnāvali* (Act V), *Mahāvīracarita* (Acts II, V), *Prabodhacandrodaya* (Act II), *Mohaparājaya* (Act IV), *Pañcatantra*, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, *Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalatā* (*Kuṇalāvadāna*) etc.

4. For instance, *Lokaprakāśa* of Kṣemendra, ch. 2, *Kavīndrakalpadruma* of Kavīndracārya Sarasvatī, sections entitled *Patraṅvalambana-padyakathanam* and *Patraprāśasti-kathanam*, *Śivatattvaratnākara* of Keladi Basava (8.1.18-50) etc.

5. Included in the serial publication *Grantharatnamālā* (Bombay), I (1887).



well. A few extracts from the beginning of Dalapatirāya's *Prasastiratnākara* would be of topical interest in this context. He classifies letters into three types, Personal messages (*Sandēśātmaka*), Legal (*Vyavahārātmaka*) and Potitical (*Nidēśātmaka*). Personal letters are made up of seven parts, Benediction (*Maṅgala*), Addressee (*Uddeśya*), Sender (*Uddeśaka*), Encomiums (*Upacāra*), Place (*Deśa*), Time (*Kala*) and Subject-matter (*Udanta*), each of which is duly defined by him :

तत्र तावत् पत्रं त्रिधा, सन्देशात्मकं, व्यवहारात्मकं, निदेशात्मकं च । प्रथमं प्रवृत्ति-विधि-निषेध-हर्ष-शोकादि-सूचनपर्यवसायि । प्रतिज्ञातृविप्रतिपत्ति-व्युदासहेतु द्वितीयम् । तृतीयं नृपायाज्ञाफलम् । मङ्गल-उद्देश्य-उद्देशक-उपचार-देश-काल-उदन्ताः सन्देशपत्रेऽभिधेयं प्राचाम् । मङ्गलम् इष्टदेवताप्रणतिराशिषो वस्तुनिर्देशश्च । उद्देश्ये उत्तममध्यमावमभेदास्त्रिधा । प्रथमो नृपभर्तृमान्यगुरुप्रभृतिः । समशीलगुणो द्वितीयः । तृतीयो मृत्य-छात्र-पुत्रादिः । उद्देशकोऽप्येवम् । योगस्तयोर्वैलोम्यात् । उपचारस्तु उत्तमे प्रदक्षिणा-प्रणति-भक्ति-सेवा-विनति-विज्ञप्ति-प्रमुखः, मध्यमे प्रेमौत्सुक्यादि-निवेदनम्, अवमे चाशिरनुवादनाश्लेषप्रसादादि । देशस्तयोर्वासः । कालः पत्रलिखनतिथिमासाब्दवेलाः । कुशलविधिनिषेधाद्य उदन्तः ॥ इति सन्देशपत्राभिधेयम् ॥

It is interesting that Dalapatirāya records in this connection the special practices followed in the composing of epistles in certain parts of the country, like Malwa, Gujarat and Maharashtra and by the Yavanas (Muslims) :

मालवगौर्जराणां मङ्गलपदं निवासविशेषणविशिष्टावुद्देश्योद्देशकौ उपचारोदन्तकालाश्चेति । महाराष्ट्राणां विशिष्ट उद्देश्यो निवासो विशेषणाङ्कित उद्देशक उपचारः कालपूर्वकः कुशलाद्युदन्तः । एवं पृथग्जनपदेषु सप्तान्यतमत्यागेन पत्रपरिपाटी । यत्रनेषु राजवर्गीयानां निरभिधानान्युद्देश्य-विशेषणान्युपचार उदन्तश्चेति पत्रे ।

### Signing and Sealing of letters

The procedure for the signing, sealing and despatch of letters is also indicated by him :

वेष्टने यथोचितं सर्वमपि । उद्देशकस्य नाम मुद्रा वा । उत्तमोद्देशकानाम् अवमोद्देश्ये सा पत्रस्यान्तरर्ध्वभागे हस्तावलम्बेषु । सर्वेषामप्यन्तः । म्लेच्छेशास्तु मिथस्तावद् भूयसीं भगवत्स्तुतिं स्ववर्तमान्यप्रणतिं च विलिख्य उदन्तेषु प्रवर्तन्ते । केचिद् अनुत्कर्षहानिगर्भिताम् अनभिधानाम् उद्देश्यप्रशस्तिं तदहोपचारमपि लिखन्ति । तदनु वेष्टनम् उद्देशकमुद्राङ्कितं विधाय विचित्रवराम्बरकोशिकायां निक्षिप्य लाक्षामुद्राङ्कितम् उद्देश्यनाममात्राङ्कितपत्रखण्डान्वितं पत्रं प्रेषयन्ति ॥ इति सन्देशपत्रम् ॥

The practice of wrapping letters in cloth before sealing them with wet clay or wax is very old.<sup>6</sup> The Buddhist Jātakas refer to the custom

6. On seals and the practices followed in sealing letters, especially royal epistles, see *Arch. Survey of India, Annual Report 1911-12*: John Marshall, 'Excavations at Bhīṣā' (pp. 29-94), section on 'Seals and Sealings', pp. 44-61 and plates.



(See Fausbol, *Jātakas*, Vol. II, pp. 173 ff.). About the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who visited India in the 7th century A.D., it is recorded that for him King Harṣa "wrote some letters on fine cotton stuff and sealed them with wax" (*Life of Hiuen Tsiang* by Shaman Hwui Li, Tr. by S. Beal, London, 1914, p. 190).

### Procedure for composing Letters

The procedure for composing letters as given in the *Patrakaumudī* of Vararuci is interesting. The meticulous instructions prescribed right from the choosing of the letter-paper might be noted. On the size of the paper it is stated :

षडङ्गुलाधिकं हस्तं पत्रमुत्तममीरितम् ।  
मध्यमं हस्तमात्रं स्यात् सामान्यं मुष्टिहस्तकम् ॥

Sufficient space had to be left at the top for adding the auspicious mark etc., below which was to be inscribed the epistle proper :

पत्रं तु त्रिगुणीकृत्य ऊर्ध्वं तु द्विगुणं त्यजेत् ।  
शेषभागे लिखेद् वर्णान् गद्यपद्यादिसंयुतम् ॥

Royal letters were to be inscribed in golden ink, those of nobles in silver and those of the common people in ordinary colours :

सुवर्णरूप्यरङ्गाद्यैः रञ्जयेत् पत्रमुत्तमम् ।  
सामान्योत्तममध्यानां पत्ररञ्जनमीरितम् ॥

Preparation of royal letters required deliberation; they had to be thought out, discussed in secret, duly drafted in the Register therefor (*Patrapustaka*) by the scribe<sup>7</sup> in consultation with the royal advisers and read out to the king for his approval before they were inscribed in their final form in the royal letter-paper :

राजलेखकमाहूय नृपो ब्रूयात् प्रयत्नतः ।  
पत्रं कुरु यथायोग्यं गद्यपद्यादिसंयुतम् ॥  
पण्डितद्वयमानीय लेखको रहसि स्थितः ।  
यथायोग्यानुसारेण पत्रं कुर्यान्मनोरमम् ॥

7. For the qualifications of the royal scribe, see *Lekhapaddhati*, (GOS 19), pp. 94-95.

On the profession of scribes in general (*lekhaka*, *kāyastha*), see G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, (Bombay, 1904), pp. 100-2; Raj Bali Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, (Varanasi, 1957), pp. 88-98; D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, (Delhi, 1965), p. 352.

On materials for writing, like paper, ink, pen etc., see *Yoginīhṛdaya*, Sn. 3. paṭala 7; *Lekhapaddhati*, *ibid.*, p. 95; Bühler, *ibid.*, pp. 92-98; Pandey, *ibid.*, pp. 67-87, Sircar, *ibid.*, pp. 61-119; G. H. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India*, (Ajmer, 1918), pp. 142-58; Jagadish Chandra Jain, *Jain Āgama Sahitya mem Bhāratiya Samaj*, (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 300-1.



दिनद्वयं त्रयं वापि विचार्य पण्डितेन वै ।  
 स्वभ्रान्तेर्दूषणं ज्ञात्वा विलिखेत् पत्रपुस्तके ॥  
 सामान्यपत्रे संलिख्य रहसि श्रावयेन्नृपम् ।  
 नृपाज्ञया शुभे पत्रे विलिखेद् राजलेखकः ॥

The letter-paper was first to be marked with a circular dot with a substance determined by the relationship which the writer held with the addressee. Thus, letters to royalty were to be marked with musk and saffron, those to ministers and ascetics with saffron, those to the learned, the teacher, the sannyāsin and father and son with sandal, those to the wife with red lac, those to the servant with red sandal and those to the enemy with blood :

ऊर्ध्वे षडङ्गुलं त्यक्त्वा वर्तुलं चन्द्रविम्बवत् ।  
 कस्तूरीकुङ्कुमैः कुर्याद् राजपत्रं सुचिह्नितम् ॥  
 मन्त्रीणां कुङ्कुमेनैव पण्डितस्यैव चन्दनैः ।  
 गुरुणां चन्दनेनैव सिन्दूरैर्गैव स्वामिनः ॥  
 भार्यायाश्चाप्यलक्तेन चन्दनैः पितृपुत्रयोः ।  
 सन्न्यासिनां चन्दनेन यतीनां कुङ्कुमेन च ॥  
 रक्तचन्दनपङ्केन भृत्यस्य समुदीरितम् ।  
 शोणितेनैव शत्रूणां पत्रचिह्नं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥  
 एतेषां चैव सर्वेषां यथायोग्यानुसारतः ।  
 पत्रस्योर्ध्वे तु मतिमान् कुर्यात् चिह्नं सुवर्तुलम् ॥

The procedure for preparing the epistle proper in due form is equally instructive. An auspicious round mark as of a hook (*Ankuśa*) with a dot at its centre and seven marks below is to be inscribed in the beginning of the letter.<sup>8</sup> The formal preamble (*Praśasti*) is prefixed with the auspicious word (*Svasti*) and a certain number of *Śrī-s*, followed by the appropriate appellation (*padanyāsa*) by which the addressee is to be hailed. Enquiries about the well-being of the addressee follow and then the message proper; these latter might be either in Sanskrit or in Prākṛt (or in the local tongue). Then are to occur the closing verses and expressions like 'what more' (*tataḥ kim adhikam*) etc. Last comes the date :<sup>9</sup>

अङ्कुशं प्रथमं दद्यात् मङ्गलार्थं विचक्षणः ।  
 मध्ये बिन्दुसमायुक्तमधः सप्ताङ्कसंयुतम् ॥

8. A parallel may be sought in inscriptions prefixed with a large circle having a smaller circle inside with dots round it. For an instance of this, see Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III)*, Varanasi, 1963, No. 63, pl. 39<sup>a</sup>.

9. For a study on the technique of writing, see Raj Bali Pandey, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 99-119.



तदधः 'स्वस्ति' विन्यस्य ततो गद्यं सुशोभनम् ।  
 ततः श्रीशब्दरूपाणि पदन्यासक्रमं लिखेत् ॥  
 भाषया संस्कृतेनैव कुशलं विलिखेत् सुधीः ।  
 ततः शुभाशुभां वार्तां संस्कृतैः प्राकृतैस्तथा ॥  
 ततः प्रमाणसन्देशं ततो वार्तां नियोजयेत् ।  
 कीर्तिप्रीतियुतं पद्यं 'ततः कि'मधिकादिकम् ॥  
 पत्रप्रेषणश्लोकं च अङ्कमासादिसंयुतम् ।  
 सर्वेषामेव पत्राणां लिखनञ्चैकीरितम् ॥

There is specification also for the number of *Śrī-s* to follow the word *Svasti* in the *Prāśasti* :

षड् गुरोः, स्वामिनः पञ्च, द्वे मृत्ये, चतुरो रिपौ ।  
 श्री-शब्दानां त्रयं मित्रे, एकैकं पुत्रभार्ययोः ॥<sup>10</sup>

10. Slightly differing directions for the preparation of epistles and observations on certain aspects thereon, as enunciated in the anonymous *Lekhapaddhati* (GOS 19, pp. 58-59) are worth noticing here :

स्वस्तिशब्दं प्रसिद्धार्थं मङ्गलार्थं च कारयेत् ।  
 क्षेमार्थं वाचकस्यापि तेनादौ लिखते बुधः ॥  
 श्रीकारमादितः कुर्यात् स्थाने प्राकारवेष्टिते ।  
 गुरोर्नृपस्य नामादौ मन्त्रिणां चाधिकारिणाम् ॥  
 मण्डलाधिपतेर्नाम्नि राज्ञो दारसुतादिषु ।  
 तथा गुरुप्रसादानां व्रतीशानां च युज्यते ॥  
 श्रीकाराश्च त्रयो मित्रे एकैकं पुत्रके तथा ।  
 षड् गुरोः स्वामिनः पञ्च द्वौ मृत्ये द्विगुणो रिपौ ॥  
 स्वस्थाने पञ्चमी देया परस्थानेषु सप्तमी ।  
 आत्मनः प्रथमा देया द्वितीया च परस्य च ॥  
 लिखेदादौ महास्थानं पादपूज्यसमन्वितम् ।  
 लेखस्थानं लिखेत् पश्चाद् आज्ञाविनयपूर्वकम् ॥  
 यः प्रस्थापयते लेखं तन्नाम सविसर्गकम् ।  
 ईकारान्तं स्त्रियाश्चापि एवं नाम विनिर्दिशेत् ॥  
 यस्य प्रस्थापयेल्लेखं कस्यापि चात्मनो बुधः ।  
 सानुस्वारं तु तन्नाम कुर्यादक्षरमन्तिमम् ॥  
 मातुल-श्वशुर-श्वश्रू-स्वामि-प्रभृतयश्च ये ।  
 पूज्यास्तन्नाम पादान्तं यदेतत्पूर्वकाग्रतः ॥  
 एकपुटे चातिदीर्घे रजोहीने च गुण्ठिते ।  
 त्रिभिर्वाचनिके लेखे नास्ति सिद्धिः करार्पिता ॥  
 स्वस्तिहीने रजोहीने शिरोनामविवर्जिते ।  
 अमुदे ~~इतदने~~ लेखे सिद्धिर्न विद्यते ॥



### Appropriate appellations

For use in a *Praśasti*, various alternative appellations for the addressee (*Uddeśyaka-padanyāsa*) have been suggested to suit the political or social standing and personal relationship of the person addressed :<sup>11</sup>

‘महाराजाधिराजं’ च ‘दानशौण्डं’ तथैव च ।  
 तथा ‘सच्चरितं’ योज्य ‘कल्पवृक्षा’दिकं न्यसेत् ॥  
 यथायोग्यानुसारेण तथैव गुणभेदतः ।  
 राजपुत्रेषु सर्वेषु पदन्यासक्रमं विदुः ॥  
 ‘प्रवरं’ गुणभेदेन तथा ‘सच्चरितादिकम्’ ।  
 विन्यस्य विलिखेत् प्राज्ञो मन्त्रिपत्रे पदक्रमम् ॥  
 ‘सङ्ख्यावद्वन्दित’पदं ‘शास्त्रार्थनिपुणादिकम्’ ।  
 पण्डितानां च पत्रेषु विलिखेद् वै पदक्रमम् ॥  
 ‘साङ्ख्यसिद्धान्तनिपुणं’ सनमस्कारकं पदम् ।  
 विन्यस्य विलिखेत् प्राज्ञो गुरुपत्रपदक्रमम् ॥  
 ‘प्रवर्यं’ सनमस्कारं ‘प्राणप्रिया’दिकं पदम् ।  
 विन्यस्य विलिखेद् धीमान् स्वामिपत्रपदक्रमम् ॥  
 ‘प्राणप्रिया’पदं ‘साध्वी’ तथा ‘सच्चरिता’दिकम् ।  
 भार्यापत्रं लिखेद् विद्वान् पदक्रममनुत्तमम् ॥  
 ‘प्राणपुत्र’पदं तद्वत् तथा ‘सच्चरिता’दिकम् ।  
 आशीर्वचनसंयुक्तं पुत्रपत्रपदक्रमम् ॥  
 ‘प्रभुवर्यं’ नमस्कारं तथा ‘सच्चरिता’दिकम् ।  
 विन्यस्य विलिखेत् पुत्रः ‘पितृपत्रपदक्रमम्’ ॥  
 ‘सर्ववाञ्छाविनिर्युक्तं’ ‘सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगम्’ ।  
 सन्न्यासि-यतिवर्येषु विलिखेच्च पदक्रमम् ॥

11. Kauṭalya's general injunction on the subject in the Śāsanādhikāra of his *Arthaśāstra* may be noted here :

जातिं कुलं स्थानवयःश्रुतानि कर्मर्द्धिशीलान्यथ देशकालौ ।

यौनानुबन्धं च समीक्ष्य कार्ये लेखं विदध्यात् पुरुषानुरूपम् ॥

*Arthaśāstra* 2. 10. 5 (Edn., R. P. Kangle, Vol. I, Bombay, 1960, p. 48)



A casual acquaintance was to be addressed as 'that person' (*amukam*), a dependent as 'carrier of the (guarding) weapon' (*śastrāvaśeṣita*) and an enemy with words such as 'sacrificial goat' (*chāgatulya*) :

सामान्य-मृत्यु-शत्रूणां विनियोज्या 'मुकं प्रति' ।  
'शस्त्रावशेषित'पदं 'छागतुल्या'दिकं तथा ॥

### Messengers

It is not strange that when letter-writing developed as a regular art, the carrying of letters grew up as a profession, those engaged in it being known by such names as *patravāhaka*, *lekhaḥāra* etc. Sanskrit literature contains numerous references to the despatch of epistles through messengers. But, what may interest us, particularly, in the present context, are certain conventions prescribed for this profession. Thus, letters addressed to the royalty, teachers, brāhmaṇas, masters, ascetics and sannyāsins were to be carried on the head. Letters to ministers were to be carried on the forehead. Messages to the wife, son and friend were to be secreted close to the heart and those to soldiers on the war-front suspended from the neck :

राजपत्रं नयन्मूर्ध्नि ललाटे चात्र मन्त्रिणाम् ।  
गुरुपत्रं नयन्मूर्ध्नि ब्राह्मणानां तथैव च ॥  
यतिसन्न्यासिनां चैव स्वामिनश्च तथैव च ।  
सादरेणैव यत्नेन तथा मूर्ध्नि धारयेत् ॥  
भार्यापुत्रस्य मित्रस्य हृदये धारयेत् सुधीः ।  
प्रवीराणां कण्ठदेशे पत्रधारणमीरितम् ॥

A corroboration to the first of the above directions is available in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, where King Harṣa is described as seeing a messenger approaching him from afar, with a letter tied up within his blue head-dress : अथ दूरादेव लेखगर्भया नीलरागमेचकरुचा चीरचीरिकया रचित-मुण्डमालम् ..... कुरङ्गकनामानम् आयान्तमद्राक्षीत् । (Edn. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1892, *Ucchvāsa* V, pp. 167-68).

### Reading out of letters in the Court

Equally interesting is the formal reading out of letters,<sup>12</sup> rules for which are given in the case of epistles addressed to the king :

पत्रं धृत्वा नमस्कृत्य पूर्वाग्रं स्थापयेत् सुधीः ।  
दक्षिणाग्रेण सदसि नृपाग्रे राजलेखकः ॥

12. *Paṭhita* (Reading out) is one of the 72 arts according to Jain tradition (see above, fn. 1), and *Pustaka-vācāna* one of the 64 arts enumerated by Vātsyāyana. Manuals, too, have come to be written on the art of reading, for instance, the *Pustaka-pāṭhopāya* of Dānaśīla, the Buddhist monk of Bengal (c. 1000 A. D.).



पत्रं वितत्य सदसि द्विवारं मनसा पठेत् ।  
 स्फुटं पश्चात् प्रवक्तव्यमक्षोभो राजलेखकः ॥  
 रहसि श्रावयेत् पत्रं शुभं वा यदि वाऽऽशुभम् ।  
 पत्रं श्रुत्वा विदित्वार्थं सभायां श्रावयेत्ततः ॥  
 रहस्यपत्रं रहसि नृपाग्रे श्रावयेद् द्विजः ।  
 अशुभं नैव सदसि, शुभं पत्रं नृपाज्ञया ॥  
 एवं क्रमेण पत्रार्थं श्रावयित्वा द्विजोत्तमः ।  
 नृपतेः सन्निधौ स्थित्वा नृपाज्ञामनुवर्तते ॥

### Praśastikāśikā : Its Nature and Contents

The analysis given above of the principles and practices of letter-writing in ancient India from works like the *Praśastiratnākara* and *Patrakaumudī* was necessitated by the non-inclusion of those aspects of the subject in the *Praśastikāśikā* edited here. The avowed object of the present work is, of course, to serve as a guide for formal letter-writing (I. 2-4), which, however, the author aims to achieve by supplying model preambles (*Praśastis*), in prose and verse, for letters to be addressed to persons in different social positions and personal relationships. It also gives, for the different categories of persons, appropriate verses for enquiring into their well-being, health and happiness. In fifteen sections, the author treats in this manner the four castes, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras ; the elders and saints like the Preceptor, the Sannyāsin and the Vaiṣṇava teacher ; the professionals like the Poet and the Astrologer ; and family members like Father, Mother, Wife and Brothers, elder and younger. In the different *Praśastis* enunciated for each category, its general characteristics are indicated, with stress on some special feature, enabling the writer to choose an appropriate *Praśasti* to suit the occasion. The diction and the phraseology of the piece also vary in accordance with the status and nature of the persons addressed, as between a learned brāhmaṇa and a rich brāhmaṇa, a valorous king and an able administrator, the merchant-prince and the maintainer of livestock, and the royal servant and the farm labourer. Separate *Praśastis* are provided for use in the case of the learned nobility, the self-controlled saint and the ascetic, among the Brāhmaṇas. Of princes of the royal blood, there is a special *Praśasti* intended for the emperor. To the section on Ladies is added a set of verses forming specimens giving expression to one's love, to flatter the lady-love and to curry her favour. The special feature of each section is the addition of a set of verses at the end, spelling out in polite, polished and piquant language, complaints and



censures to be addressed to defaulting correspondents. It may be seen that the preambles and epistolary verses given in this work, when intelligently supplemented with suitable adjuncts and linking bits, could serve eminently the purpose for which the work is intended. And, judged from the vogue of the large number of known manuscripts of the work,<sup>13</sup> its popularity has to be rated high.

### Literary estimate of the Work

The said popularity and utility of *Praśastikāśikā* cannot, however, prevent the criticism that as a literary piece it does not rise to great heights. The work is not more than a mediocre attempt at literary composition. At places there are avoidable repetitions, metrically defective verses (e. g., p. 13, verse 9; p. 22, verse 7; p. 37, verse 9; p. 47, verse 1), obscure usages and even lapses of grammar (see, for instance, the use of *bhūyuh* for *bhūyāsuḥ* in p. 12, fn. 9; p. 30, fn. 15; p. 36, fn. 14; *kṣīpya* for *kṣīptvā* in p. 55, fn. 13). As though to counter-balance these defects, there are also a good number of telling verses, elegant from the point both of sound and sense (e. g., p. 22, verses 8, 9; p. 30, verse 8; p. 32, verses 4, 5; p. 51, verse 1; pp. 54-56, sn. vi). It has also to be noted that a fund of common sense, ingenuity and psychological insight born of worldly experience characterise many of the verses of the enquiry (*Kuśalalekhana*) and censure (*Lekhanopālambha*) sections (see, for instance, p. 38, verse iv. 4; p. 39, verse 7; p. 50, verse 1; p. 52, verses iii. 2, iv. 1).

### Bālakṛṣṇa, the Author

The work introduces its author as Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, pupil of a Sannyāsin named Brahmānanda (p. 1, verses 1-2). Some biographical details are available in the concluding section of the work (p. 59, verses 1-5). He belonged to the Śāṇḍilya gotra. A reputed scholar of the family, by name Jagannātha, who was honoured by kings, resided on the banks of the river Sarayū. Balabhadra, a scion of the family migrated to Kāśī (Vārāṇasī), on account of his devotion to God Viśveśvara. His elder son was Kāśinātha, a devotee of God Rāma and a philanthropist of high order, while his younger son was Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, our author, who wrote the *Praśastikāśikā* to facilitate social letter-writing. Further definite information is lacking about the author. Like his brother Kāśinātha, our author too must have had God Rāma as

13. The catalogues of the different Manuscripts collections in the different parts of India record more than 20 manuscripts of the work.



his personal deity, as exemplified by the reference to Rāma in a number of verses in the work (see, for instance, p. 22, verse 1; p. 30, verse 6; p. 31, verse 1; p. 35, verse iii. 5; p. 43, verse 1; p. 44, verse iii. 1). The inclusion in the *Praśastikāśikā* of only the Vaiṣṇava, to the exclusion of other religious orders and of the Advaitin among the sects of Sannyāsins would indicate that the author was attached to both. He refers to Suratrāṇa-s (Sultans) twice (pp. 27, 28) in the Vaiśya section, which would mean that he lived during the times of the Muslim suzerainty. This fact, coupled with his being a resident of Kāśī and the general tenor of the work, would tend forcibly to identify our author with Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, one of the 69 Pandits of Kāśī who honoured the renowned Sannyāsin of Kāśī, Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, with *Praśastis* embodied in the work entitled *Kavindrācandrodaya*,<sup>14</sup> on the latter's persuading the Mughol emperor Shah Jehan to revoke the Pilgrim Tax imposed on the pilgrims visiting Kāśī and Allahabad. The *Kavindrācandrodaya* was composed some time before 1658.<sup>15</sup> It has to be presumed that Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin was a senior scholar at that time to deserve his contribution to be included in the said work. If this identification is correct, the date of Bālakṛṣṇa could, on the above grounds, be fixed between A.D. 1600 and 1675.

Three of the known manuscripts of the work<sup>16</sup> present an odd feature in that they attribute the work to Śambhudeva instead of

14. Ed. by Har Dutt Sharma and M. M. Patkar, (Poona, 1939). For a list of the 69 Pandits, see *ibid.*, Introduction. The *Praśasti* of Bālakṛṣṇa reads (*ibid.*, p. 15, verse 109) :

उमेन्द्रं च केचिद् रमेन्द्रं च केचिद् दिनेन्द्रं च केचिद् गणेन्द्रं नमन्ति ।

तदिन्द्रान्तमेतत् परित्यज्य सर्वं वयं त्वां यतन्द्रं कवीन्द्रं नमामः ॥

बालकृष्णत्रिपाठिनः ।

The identification of this author by the editors of *Kavindrācandrodaya* (Intro., p. vii) with "Bālakṛṣṇa Tripāṭhin, the son of Kāśīrāma of the Mahārāṅga family, who wrote the *Guṇamañjarī* on *Prāyaścittaviveka*" (sic *Prāyaścittapraharāṇa*) does not seem to be correct, since the latter Bālakṛṣṇa belonged not to Kāśī, but to Kuru-Pāñcāla. Cf. the colophon to the work : इति श्रीमत्पदवाक्यप्रमाणजपारावरीण-धुरीण-कुरुपाञ्चालदेशीय-महारङ्गकुलोद्भव-त्रिपाठिशिवरामात्मज-त्रिपाठि-काशीरामतनूज-बालकृष्णस्य कृतौ गुणमञ्जर्यौ प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणं सम्पूर्णम् ॥

(Ms. No. 676, Raghunatha Temple Library, Jammu Catalogue, Stein, p. 87)

15. Cf. P. K. Gode, 'Kavindrācārya at the Mughol court,' in his *Studies in Indian literary history*, Vol. II, (Bombay, 1954), pp. 364-79, esp. p. 375.

16. Viz. Ms C used in the present edition and Mss. Nos. 2606 and 4024 recorded by Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. VIII, pp. 62-63 and Vol. X, p. 159.



Bālakṛṣṇa, verse 2 in the beginning of the work (p. 1) being altered accordingly. Thus, in place of the reading :

प्रशस्तिकाशिका दिव्या बालकृष्णेन रच्यते ।  
सर्वेषामुपकाराय लेखनाय त्रिपाठिना ॥

these three manuscripts read :

प्रशस्तिकाशिका दिव्या शम्भुदेवेन लिख्यते ।  
सर्वेषामुपकाराय लेखनाय सुधीमताम् ॥

All these manuscripts are incomplete and do not contain the colophon. It is therefore not possible to know the name of the author as recorded there. Some major variants and rearrangement of the passages occur in these manuscripts (see, below, p. xxiv). Possibly, Śambhudeva had effected these changes, owing to which his name was inserted in the verse as the author.

### Manuscript material

The present edition of *Prāstikāśikā* is based on eleven manuscripts, one belonging to the Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, and the other ten to the Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Varanasi. All the manuscripts are on paper, written in the Devanāgarī script. A close study of these eleven manuscripts reveals that in spite of individual differences they fall into three distinct versions, in accordance with which they could be divided into three groups, A (=A<sub>1-4</sub>), B (=B<sub>1-6</sub>) and C.

A<sub>1</sub>. Ms. 1812 of the Vishveshvaranand Institute. 34 ff., 27 cm. × 12 cm., with 8 lines a page and about 30 letters a line. A well preserved and complete Ms. on glazed hand-made paper, written in a scrupulously uniform, orderly and attractive hand, indicating a scribe with an artistic bent. It is not dated. The Ms. has had the benefit of revision, the reviser obliterating errors with greenish-yellow paint, over which the corrections are made. The scribe has left blank spaces for the gaps in his original. Scribal peculiarities tax decipherment at places, the difficulty being, often, enhanced by the mutual confusion of certain letters and other minor errors.

A<sub>2</sub>. Ms. 40977 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. 18 ff., 25 cm. × 11 cm., with 12 lines a page and about 39 letters a line. Complete but for two folios, numbered 4 and 6, which are lost. The Ms. is neither dated nor is its scribe mentioned, but it looks fairly old. It has not been revised but the text preserved is fairly accurate. Minor errors in the writing are not rare. The reverse of the final folio carries a *mantra* and a *yantra* in a later hand.



A<sub>3</sub>. Ms. 42202 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. 19 ff., (5 ff. of the original 24 having been lost), 23 cm. × 10 cm., with 8 lines a page and about 32 letters a line. The writing is legible though not attractive. The Ms. has been revised, but is not dated nor is the scribe mentioned. The text preserved is generally correct, though confusion of letters, haplographical omissions and dropping of vowel signs are common.

A<sub>4</sub>. Ms. 40573 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A fragment in 3 ff., 26.4 cm. × 11.5 cm., with 8 lines a page and 36 letters a line. Contains the text up to the middle of II. i. 7 (p. 5). The writing is legible. The Ms. has passed through the hands of a reviser, but is not free from orthographical confusion and errors.

B<sub>1</sub>. Ms. 40744 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. An extraordinarily accurate and complete Ms. in 12 ff., 20 cm. × 12.5 cm., with 15 lines a page and 36 letters a line. The Ms. is legibly written and carefully revised, with the result that errors are few. It is dated A.D. 1743, the scribe being Lakṣmīnātha, son of Kṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and had the title *Sarasa-sadasya*. (See below, p. 60, for the post-colophonic statement to the above effect.)

B<sub>2</sub>. Ms. 42211 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A well written complete Ms. in 12 ff., 20 cm. × 11 cm., with 9 lines a page and about 29 letters a line. It has been carefully revised and the text preserved is remarkably correct. Haplographical and other errors are rare. On the verso of the first leaf are found four verses, being the *Praśasti* of an epistle to a Maharaja of Varanasi, invoking on him the blessings of Lord Viśveśvara :

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाराजैः पूर्वैः सम्यगनुष्ठितैः ।  
 धर्मं त्रातुं यतन्ते ये बाह्मनःकायचेष्टितैः ॥  
 दिङ्मण्डले रवीयन्ते प्रकाशैरीश्वरापितैः ।  
 दीनानुग्रहनिर्माणे स्वभावं येऽनुरुन्धते ॥  
 तेषु श्रीमत्सु सूर्याभवंशालङ्कारमूर्तिषु ।  
 नृपोत्तमेषु काशीस्थविदुषां स्युः सदाशिषः ॥  
 श्रीविश्वेश्वरतः शश्वत्कल्याणमभिलष्यते ।  
 श्रीमतां, वृत्तमपरं विज्ञेयं जनभाषया ॥

B<sub>3</sub>. Ms. 42067 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. An old, but comparatively well preserved complete Ms. in 13 ff., 35.5 cm. × 14 cm., with 11 lines a page and 50 letters a line. It has not had the benefit of the scrutiny of a reviser, with the result that errors of all types which abound in the Ms. are left uncorrected.



Bālakṛṣṇa, verse 2 in the beginning of the work (p. 1) being altered accordingly. Thus, in place of the reading :

प्रशस्तिकाशिका दिव्या बालकृष्णेन रच्यते ।  
सर्वेषामुपकाराय लेखनाय त्रिपाठिना ॥

these three manuscripts read :

प्रशस्तिकाशिका दिव्या शम्भुदेवेन लिख्यते ।  
सर्वेषामुपकाराय लेखनाय सुधीमताम् ॥

All these manuscripts are incomplete and do not contain the colophon. It is therefore not possible to know the name of the author as recorded there. Some major variants and rearrangement of the passages occur in these manuscripts (see, below, p. xxiv). Possibly, Śambhudeva had effected these changes, owing to which his name was inserted in the verse as the author.

### Manuscript material

The present edition of *Praśastikāśikā* is based on eleven manuscripts, one belonging to the Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, and the other ten to the Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Varanasi. All the manuscripts are on paper, written in the Devanāgarī script. A close study of these eleven manuscripts reveals that in spite of individual differences they fall into three distinct versions, in accordance with which they could be divided into three groups, A (=A<sub>1-4</sub>), B (=B<sub>1-6</sub>) and C.

A<sub>1</sub>. Ms. 1812 of the Vishveshvaranand Institute. 34 ff., 27 cm. × 12 cm., with 8 lines a page and about 30 letters a line. A well preserved and complete Ms. on glazed hand-made paper, written in a scrupulously uniform, orderly and attractive hand, indicating a scribe with an artistic bent. It is not dated. The Ms. has had the benefit of revision, the reviser obliterating errors with greenish-yellow paint, over which the corrections are made. The scribe has left blank spaces for the gaps in his original. Scribal peculiarities tax decipherment at places, the difficulty being, often, enhanced by the mutual confusion of certain letters and other minor errors.

A<sub>2</sub>. Ms. 40977 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. 18 ff., 25 cm. × 11 cm., with 12 lines a page and about 39 letters a line. Complete but for two folios, numbered 4 and 6, which are lost. The Ms. is neither dated nor is its scribe mentioned, but it looks fairly old. It has not been revised but the text preserved is fairly accurate. Minor errors in the writing are not rare. The reverse of the final folio carries a *mantra* and a *yantra* in a later hand,



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A<sub>9</sub>. Ms. 42202 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. 19 ff., (5 ff. of the original 24 having been lost), 23 cm. × 10 cm., with 8 lines a page and about 32 letters a line. The writing is legible though not attractive. The Ms. has been revised, but is not dated nor is the scribe mentioned. The text preserved is generally correct, though confusion of letters, haplographical omissions and dropping of vowel signs are common.

A<sub>4</sub>. Ms. 40573 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A fragment in 3 ff., 26.4 cm. × 11.5 cm., with 8 lines a page and 36 letters a line. Contains the text up to the middle of II. i. 7 (p. 5). The writing is legible. The Ms. has passed through the hands of a reviser, but is not free from orthographical confusion and errors.

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B<sub>2</sub>. Ms. 42211 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A well written complete Ms. in 12 ff., 20 cm. × 11 cm., with 9 lines a page and about 29 letters a line. It has been carefully revised and the text preserved is remarkably correct. Haplographical and other errors are rare. On the verso of the first leaf are found four verses, being the *Praśasti* of an epistle to a Maharaja of Varanasi, invoking on him the blessings of Lord Viśveśvara :

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 धर्मं त्रातुं यतन्ते ये वाङ्मनःकायचेष्टितैः ॥  
 दिङ्मण्डले रवीयन्ते प्रकाशैरीश्वरार्पितैः ।  
 दीनानुग्रहनिर्माणे स्वभावं येऽनुरुन्धते ॥  
 तेषु श्रीमत्सु सूर्याभवंशालङ्कारमूर्तिषु ।  
 नृपोत्तमेषु काशीस्थविदुषां स्युः सदाशिषः ॥  
 श्रीविश्वेश्वरतः शश्वत्कल्याणमभिलष्यते ।  
 श्रीमतां, वृत्तमपरं विज्ञेयं जनभाषया ॥

B<sub>3</sub>. Ms. 42067 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. An old, but comparatively well preserved complete Ms. in 13 ff., 35.5 cm. × 14 cm., with 11 lines a page and 50 letters a line. It has not had the benefit of the scrutiny of a reviser, with the result that errors of all types which abound in the Ms. are left uncorrected.



B<sub>4</sub>. Ms. 42460 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A non-dated but apparently old manuscript in 12 ff., 28.5 cm.×7.5 cm., with 14 lines a page and 43 letters a line. The Ms. which is damaged has passed through the hands of a reviser and is generally accurate.

B<sub>5</sub>. Ms. 42247 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A modern, well preserved Ms. in 8 ff., 27 cm.×11 cm., with 12 lines a page and 46 letters a line. It has not been revised, but is generally correct. It is dated Sam. 1922 (A. D. 1865-66). It leaves out the poetic passages except in the Brāhmaṇa section.

B<sub>6</sub>. Ms. 43163 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. A poorly prepared, incomplete Ms. in 6 ff., 24 cm.×10.5 cm., with 11 lines a page and 39 letters a line. It breaks off in the middle of the Brāhmaṇa Section, II.viii (p. 13). The Ms. has passed through the hands of a reviser.

C. Ms. 41141 of the Sarasvati Bhavan. One long thick sheet made up by sticking together, in continuation, 26 folios, 19 cm.×8 cm. Written in bold script, it is generally accurate, but breaks off towards the close of section III. i (p. 16). It has been scrupulously revised and exhibits few scribal or other errors.

### Recensions of the Work

The eleven manuscripts used in the present edition array themselves into three lines of descent, as mentioned above, represented by A<sub>1-4</sub>, B<sub>1-6</sub> and C. This is evident from the numerous uniform variations in the readings through the entire work. A major variation occurs towards the latter half of the Brāhmaṇa section. Mss. of group A omit the prose *Praśastis* 10-16 in sub-section i and the entire sub-sections ii-vii (pp. 6-11), while the B Mss. omit only i. 10-16, which latter are, thus, found only in C. The *Praśastis* in sub-sections ii-vi (pp. 8-11) found both in B and C groups are differently arranged (see fn. 1 on p. 8). Also, B omits the sub-section v, pertaining to the recluse (p. 10). Again, in C, the sub-section III. i, *Prathānapraśasti*, heading the Kṣatriya section (p. 16), is transferred to section II and made to follow *Vidvat-prabhu-praśasti*, ii. 1 (p. 8). In Section III, on Kṣatriyas, Mss. of Group B omit the *Praśastis* 6-9 (pp. 19-21). In section IV, on Vaiśyas, B Mss. omit the prose *Praśasti* 5-8 (pp. 34-35). Group A Mss. show another common characteristic in combining into one the two *Praśastis* 6 and 7 of II. i (pp. 4-5). The biographical verses towards the end of the work (p. 59), too, are found only in group A. A major variation in C, ascribing the authorship of the work to Śambhudeva, has already been noticed (see above, p. xxii).



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Differences of lesser import are frequent between the groups : *Cf.* the peculiar readings (see pp. 30, fn. 2 ; 33, fn. 8 ; 38, fn. 6 ; 51, fn. 10 ; 53, fn. 7 ; 54, fn. 2 ; 55, fn. 14) and common omissions or additions of single verses, phrases or words (see pp. 18, fnn. 1, 2 ; 39, fn. 3 ; 42, fn. 1 ; 43, fnn. 1, 3, 4 ; 49, fn. 8). Common corruptions and errors also characterise the groups, though such instances are few (see pp. 11, fn. 5 ; 27, fn. 3 ; 37, fn. 17 ; 53, fn. 3 ; 56, fn. 8).

Within the groups, variants are not numerous, though not absent. Thus  $A_1$  has an extra verse after IV. i. 3 (p. 26) and has the first half of VI. ii. 1 (p. 40) different.  $A_2$  reads a line differently in XIII. vi. 9 (p. 55).  $B_2$  and  $B_3$  have peculiarities in II. vii. i (p. 11) and  $B_4$  omits XIII. vi. i (p. 54). Small variants in the individual Mss. are scattered throughout the work and are recorded in the footnotes.

A few omissions and corruptions, common to the Mss. of all the groups (see pp. 37, fn. 6, 15 ; 41, fn. 13) have to be traced to the common archetype from which they all have descended.

## Acknowledgements

The undersigned is extremely grateful to the authorities of the Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanasi, for the loan of the manuscripts of *Praśastikāśikā* in their collection which has enabled him to bring out the present critical edition of the work. His thanks are due to Shri Indra Dutt Uniyal, his colleague, Prof. S. D. Parashar of the Govt. College, Hoshiarpur, and Prof. Veda Prakasa of the Govt. College, Sangrur, for their help in the collation and clarification of doubtful points in the manuscripts. He also desires to place on record the help he received from Shri Raj Kumar of his Department in the transcription of the basic manuscript, in reading the proofs and in seeing the work through the press. His thanks are due also to Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, his colleague, for his helpful suggestions in the editorial work.

K. V. SARMA







## बालकृष्ण-त्रिपाठि-विरचिता

# प्रशस्तिकाशिका

### I. मङ्गलाचरणम्

नत्वा गणपतिं देवं सर्वविघ्नविनाशनम्<sup>१</sup> ।

गुरुं च करुणानाथं ब्रह्मानन्दाभिधानकम्<sup>२</sup> ॥ १ ॥

प्रशस्तिकाशिका दिव्या बालकृष्णेन रच्यते<sup>३</sup> ।

सर्वेषामुपकाराय<sup>४</sup> लेखनाय<sup>५</sup> त्रिपाठिना<sup>६</sup> ॥ २ ॥

चतुर्णामपि वर्णानां क्रमतः कार्यकारिणाम्<sup>७</sup> ।

लिख्यते सर्वविद्यार्थिप्रबोधाय प्रशस्तिका ॥ ३ ॥

यस्या लेखनमात्रेण<sup>८</sup> विद्याकीर्तियशःस्वपि<sup>९</sup> ।

प्रतिष्ठा लभ्यते शीघ्रमनायासेन धीमता ॥ ४ ॥

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The Mss. used fall under three groups : A (=Mss. A<sub>1-4</sub>), B (=Mss. B<sub>1-6</sub>) and C (Ms. C). While recording the variants, when a whole group is meant, only the group siglum A, B or C, respectively, is used.

1. A<sub>2</sub> विघ्नादिनाशनम्

2. A. B<sub>2-3,5</sub> धायकम्

3. C शम्भुदेवेन लिख्यते

4. A सर्वेषां पत्रबोधाय

5. A<sub>1</sub> लिखनाय । This Ms. has, uniformly, and sometimes some of the other Mss. too, have लिखन for लेखन, wherever the expression occurs, below.

6. C सुधीमताम्

7. A<sub>2</sub> परिकारिणीम्

8. A<sub>1</sub> यस्योल्लिखनमात्रेण

9. B. C यशोऽपि च



## II. तत्रादौ ब्राह्मणविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकल<sup>1</sup>विद्याविनोद<sup>2</sup>रसिकविराजमान-<sup>3</sup>सन्मण्डलीसमाज-  
मण्डन-विहितदिग्विजय - वादीन्द्रवृन्दमर्दन - विद्वज्जनकमलकुल<sup>4</sup>प्रकाशन<sup>5</sup>-मार्तण्ड -  
मूर्तिषु, सदाचारचरण<sup>6</sup>परिलब्ध-गरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावशीकृत-वसिष्ठादिमुनिगणगीयमान<sup>7</sup>-  
यशश्चन्द्रकरधवलीकृतजगत्त्रितयेषु, निखिल<sup>8</sup>दनुज-पूज्यपादाब्ज-<sup>9</sup>सुरनिकरमौलि-  
भूषायितमुकुटमणिराजिरञ्जित - <sup>10</sup>महाध्व्यतर<sup>11</sup>माणिक्यविस्फुरत्<sup>12</sup> - किरणनीराजित-<sup>13</sup>  
चरणपीठ<sup>14</sup>सहस्राक्ष<sup>15</sup>सम-सामन्तेडिता<sup>16</sup>ज्ञावचनेषु ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनवद्य-विविधविद्याविनोद-वैशद्यसम्पाद्यमानाविरलगद्यपद्यावली-  
विरचन - चटुलचातुरीचञ्चुरीण<sup>17</sup> - प्रचुरतरबोध - सौबुध्यधोरणी<sup>18</sup>धुरीणान्तःकरणेषु,  
प्रोद्दण्डप्रचण्डपाण्डित्य - <sup>19</sup>चमत्कृति<sup>20</sup>चुलुकीकृत - प्रबलवादीन्द्रवृन्द<sup>21</sup>-प्रतिभाप्रपूर-  
परिणामेरित<sup>22</sup>-जगद्व्यापि-गरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठानिष्ठितवरिष्ठविख्यातिप्रख्यापित<sup>23</sup>-सदाचार-  
विचार<sup>24</sup>विजृम्भमानसन्मान-सम्भावित-रम्भापतिसमान-सामन्तप्रस्तूयमान-महिमा-  
सागरोर्मिषु, बिस<sup>25</sup>विशद-कुमुदकुन्दसुन्दर-शरदिन्दुहासकैलास-कास<sup>26</sup>कुसुम-प्रकाश-

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. B <sub>1-4</sub> om. सकल   | 2. A. D add here रस  |
| 3. A <sub>2</sub> om. सन्   | 4. B <sub>1</sub> om. कुल  |
| 5. A <sub>1</sub> शमाप्रवाहन; B <sub>6</sub> शमान                         | 6. B <sub>5</sub> राचरण  |
| 7. A <sub>2-4</sub> गणजेगीयमान  | 8. A <sub>1-2</sub> add here नर  |
| 9. A adds परम   | 10. A <sub>4</sub> मा for म  |
| 11. B <sub>6</sub> धर्तर for ध्व्यतर                                      | 12. A <sub>1</sub> विस्फुरित; B <sub>2</sub> विस्फूर्जत्                         |
| 13. B <sub>3-4</sub> विराजित  | 14. B <sub>1</sub> पीठी; B <sub>2</sub> पीठि                                     |
| 15. B <sub>4</sub> om. सहस्राक्ष  | 16. A <sub>4</sub> . B <sub>4</sub> . सामन्तपण्डिता                              |
| 17. B <sub>1-2-4-5</sub> चञ्चुरीण   | 18. B <sub>4</sub> धौरणी   |
| 19. A adds चण्डिम   | 20. B <sub>1-4-6</sub> C कृत   |
| 21. A <sub>1-2</sub> om. वृन्द  | 22. A <sub>1</sub> प्रतिपूर; B <sub>1-5-6</sub> . प्रपूरित; B <sub>3</sub> पूरित |
| 23. A <sub>4</sub> विख्यापित  | 24. B <sub>6</sub> संविचार; A <sub>2</sub> om. वि following.                     |
| 25. A <sub>1-2</sub> B <sub>1-3-4</sub> विश; B <sub>6</sub> om. the word. |  |
| 26. A <sub>2</sub> om. कास; A <sub>3</sub> om. कुमुद to कास               |  |



जित्वर-जगदण्डखण्डमण्डन - विजय<sup>1</sup> यशोधवल्लिम - सुधाधवल्लिताशेष-भुवनमण्ड -  
लेषु ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलजगदध<sup>2</sup>वंसन-परमोदार-विनोदविचार-सदाचार-सच्छा-  
स्त्राध्ययन-विद्वज्जनगोष्ठीप्रकाशमान - वेदान्तज्ञानविजृम्भितान्तःकरण - ब्रह्मानन्दैकी-  
भूतजीवेषु, भूदेवमानसनिवासिसन्देहास्पदोत्खनन-विख्यातयशःकर्पूरपूर<sup>3</sup>धवलीकृत-<sup>4</sup>  
त्रिमूर्त्यालयविलासि<sup>5</sup>विभासमान-<sup>6</sup>वशी<sup>7</sup>भूतेन्द्रसहस्रमूर्तिषु, कृपाकटाक्षावलोकन-<sup>8</sup>  
परिपूरितपुरुषार्थचतुष्टय-परमेश्वरसमपराक्रमोद्धारित-निजभक्तजनेषु ॥ ३ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकल<sup>9</sup>गुरुकृपालब्ध-<sup>10</sup>संविन्निर्युताखिल<sup>11</sup>जगद्भक्तहृदानन्द<sup>12</sup>कर-  
श्रीमद्रामसुखधाम- कल्पद्रुमाभिराम- चरणतामरसललाम-नक्षत्र<sup>13</sup>यामिनीपति-विस्फु-  
रत्कान्ति<sup>14</sup>नाशिताज्ञानावलीठत्तमःपुञ्जेषु, सकलसिद्धान्तमय-वेदान्तशास्त्रार्थचय-<sup>15</sup>  
विचारोपचार<sup>16</sup>नाशित-हेतिचक्र-मुनिगणतपःफल-करतलामलकेषु,<sup>17</sup> परमधर्मावगाह्या-  
गमोक्त-मन्त्रयन्त्रप्रयोगविदाचार्यवर्य<sup>18</sup>-चूडामणिमरीचिपूजित-पदारविन्दद्वन्द्वेषु<sup>19</sup> ॥४॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलमुनिगणालभ्य-करुणामयनन्दनन्दन-<sup>20</sup>पदारविन्द<sup>21</sup>-रसा-  
स्वाद-मेदुरीभूतमनःषट्पदेषु, मुनिचय<sup>22</sup>विहित-कर्माचरण-प्रसन्नमानसानीत-पवित्र-  
कीर्ति-सत्कथाश्रवणकृतार्थीकृत-निजनिखिल<sup>23</sup>गोत्रोद्भवेषु,<sup>24</sup> कृतातिशयपुण्यपरि-

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> नतिजय  | 2. B जगद् <sup>9</sup> (B <sub>2</sub> corrected to जगत्त्रिविधदुःख <sup>9</sup> ) |
| 3. B <sub>2.4.6</sub> C om. पूर  | 4. A <sub>2</sub> धवलित  |
| 5. B <sub>1.2.5.6</sub> विभासि   | 6. A adds here सन्मान  |
| 7. A <sub>1-3</sub> B <sub>1-5</sub> C वश  | 8. C om. न   |
| 9. A <sub>3.4</sub> सत् for सकल; B <sub>2.3.5.6</sub> add after this स्व                   |  |
| 10. C सञ्चित for संवित   | 11. A <sub>1</sub> विधूताखिल   |
| 12. C हृदयानन्द  |  |
| 13. All Mss. नखत्रि (A <sub>1</sub> नक्षत्रि) for नक्षत्र; B <sub>2</sub> revisor, नक्षत्र |  |
| 14. A <sub>1</sub> कीर्ति for कान्ति   | 15. A. B <sub>6</sub> C add here हृदय  |
| 16. B <sub>4</sub> विचारप्रचार   | 17. B <sub>1.2.3.5</sub> मलेषु   |
| 18. C om. वर्य   | 19. A <sub>2</sub> विन्देषु  |
| 20. B <sub>6</sub> पा for प  | 21. B <sub>4</sub> adds द्वन्द्व   |
| 22. A वचन for चय   | 23. A. C निखिलनिज  |
| 24. A भवजनेषु; A <sub>4</sub> om. the rest of the paragraph.                               |  |



लब्ध-भूदेवशरीरविधीयमान-तपःपुञ्जप्रकाश<sup>1</sup> देदीप्यमानानल-दन्दह्यमान<sup>2</sup> पातक -  
समूहेषु ॥ ५ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सदाचारविचार<sup>3</sup> विनिर्जित<sup>4</sup> - महोदार<sup>5</sup> मुनिगणागारापारधर्म-  
भार<sup>6</sup> सम्पात-सुकुमारतनुतिरस्कृत<sup>7</sup> - परमामयमारविर्वर्द्धित-स्व<sup>8</sup> दर्पदलित - सुरनरनाग -  
गन्धर्वदार-सकलविद्याविनोदप्रमूकीकृत-विद्वज्जनाधारवादीन्द्रहार<sup>9</sup> - वारंवार-हृदयाव -  
लोडन<sup>10</sup> प्रकार-प्राप्तस्फारोत्तार<sup>11</sup> जय-यशःपूरोद्धूतापुण्य<sup>12</sup> सारकर्मकाण्डाखण्ड-ताण्ड-  
वित<sup>13</sup> - प्रोद्दण्डप्रचण्ड<sup>14</sup> संसारमण्डलेषु ॥ ६ ॥

<sup>15</sup> स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तसुखललामागमोक्त<sup>16</sup> दीक्षादीक्षित-भक्तजनमनोरथाभि-  
सम्पात-विविधकामप्रपूरण-कल्पद्रुमाभिराम-कैलासगिरिवनोद्यान-भ्रामेश-ब्रह्मेन्द्रादि -  
सुरध्यानविश्राम-दृक्पथपरित्यक्त-परवाम<sup>17</sup> - परशुरामोद्गर्पदलनोद्गम-लसद्वैजयन्ति-  
कादाम<sup>18</sup> कृतार्थीविहिताञ्जनातनय-चतुर्धाम-श्रीमद्रामरमण-दाशरथिरामचन्द्रचरण<sup>19</sup> -

1. B<sub>6</sub> adds पुञ्ज; B<sub>2</sub> om. दे following.
2. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>6</sub> सन्दह्यमान ; C दह्यमान
3. A<sub>3-4</sub> om. विचार
4. B<sub>4</sub> विजित
5. A<sub>3</sub> om. महोदार
6. A<sub>1</sub> om. भार
7. A<sub>1</sub> निराकृत
8. A<sub>1-3</sub> B<sub>6</sub> स्वरूप
9. A<sub>4</sub> हीर
10. B<sub>4</sub> हृदयालोडन
11. A<sub>1</sub> om. प्राप्तस्फारोत्तार ; A<sub>4</sub> om. स्फारोत्तार ; B<sub>4-6</sub> प्राप्तसंस्कारोत्तार
12. Some Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> पुरोद्धूताप्राण्य ; A<sub>4</sub> प्रमाण्या ; B<sub>1</sub> पुरोद्धूतां पुण्य ; B<sub>4</sub> °तान्तःपुण्य
13. A<sub>1-4</sub> सारकाण्डाखण्डवित (A<sub>4</sub> om. वित) ; A<sub>2</sub> खण्डवित
14. C om. प्रचण्ड
15. A takes this *Prasasti* as part of the previous one and so continues without स्वस्ति श्रीमत्
16. A. ललामोक्त
17. Some Mss. have extra words here, with some letters corrupt in some of the Mss. : A. B<sub>6</sub> सन्नयमयाचरण-कीर्तिकलोलग्रामखण्डित-विपक्षधाम-गणिकादि (A<sub>4</sub> om. दृक्पथपरित्यक्तपरवामसन्नयमयाचरण) ; A<sub>3-4</sub> B<sub>6</sub> add further : पामरोद्धरणनाम (some Mss. corrupt).
18. B<sub>2-5</sub> काराम.
19. A<sub>4</sub> चन्द्रनखचरण.



तामरस-भक्तिमकरन्दा<sup>1</sup>मोद<sup>2</sup>स्वाद<sup>3</sup>षट्पदीभूतान्तःकरणवृत्तिषु, परमदान्तनदीकान्त-  
गम्भीर<sup>4</sup>हृदय-द्विजवरकुलसमुद्रान्त-महद्ग्रामान्तर्गतैकान्तायतन-शान्तमहद्गुरुमुखार-  
विन्दप्रकाशितमन्त्र - रजनीकरविधूताज्ञानाब्धि<sup>5</sup>ध्वान्त - स्वान्तानीत-नितान्तेष्टदेवता -  
चरण-नितान्त<sup>6</sup>प्रताप<sup>7</sup>समुद्भूत<sup>8</sup>दुरितरोगार्त<sup>9</sup>प्रयोगसिद्धान्त<sup>10</sup>वशीकृतसमुद्रान्तवासि<sup>11</sup>-  
सुरेन्द्रोपमेय-सामन्तगण-रसानन्त<sup>12</sup>गुणगुम्फित-गरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठावरिष्ठकीर्ति-मुक्ताफल-  
विभूषित-दिगङ्गनाकर्णान्तेषु ॥ ७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुवेदवाद-वादरायणेषु, कर्मकाण्ड-जैमिनिषु,<sup>12</sup> तर्कतन्त्र-गौतमेषु,  
सांख्यशास्त्र-कपिलेषु,<sup>13</sup> काव्यकर्तृ-वाल्मीकिषु,<sup>14</sup> षट्पदार्थ-काणादभुजेषु, योगशास्त्र-  
शङ्करेषु, शब्दतन्त्र-शेषेषु, नीतिबोध-भार्गवेषु, धर्ममार्ग-मानवेषु, बुद्धिसागर-केशवेषु,  
भक्तिमार्ग-शाण्डिल्येषु, शान्तदान्तमानसेषु,<sup>15</sup> सज्जनाब्जभास्करेषु,<sup>16</sup> भूमिदेवमौलि-  
रत्नभासमान-माणिक्येषु, सदाचारविचारोदधि<sup>17</sup>मन्थनक्षम<sup>18</sup>-मन्दरगरिष्ठवरिष्ठेषु,<sup>19</sup>  
शापवर<sup>20</sup>दानातिवलदक्ष-दुर्वासामुनि<sup>21</sup>वरेषु, ज्ञानवैराग्याब्धि-नारदेषु,<sup>22</sup> सकलगुण-

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1. A न्दामन्द
  2. A<sub>4</sub> breaks off with ष.
  3. A<sub>1</sub> गभीर
  4. A<sub>1</sub> वि, A<sub>3</sub> B<sub>1-5</sub> धि, B<sub>2-3</sub> मि and C दि for विधि
  5. A<sub>1-3</sub> चरणान्त ; B C चरणतान्त
  6. B प्रक्षाल्य and C ; प्रक्षालन for प्रताप
  7. A<sub>1</sub> समुद्रत
  8. A रोगान्त
  9. A<sub>2</sub> om. सिद्धान्त
  10. A<sub>1-3</sub> निवासि ; A<sub>3</sub> निवासित
  11. A<sub>1</sub> रसानन्त ; A<sub>2</sub> रसानान्त, corrupt.
  12. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1</sub> जैमिनीषु ; A<sub>2-3</sub> B<sub>2-5-6</sub> जैमिनेषु
  13. B<sub>1-2-4-5</sub> कापिलेषु
  14. A<sub>1-3</sub> B वाल्मीकिषु ; A<sub>2</sub> om. षट् to शाण्डिल्येषु, below, B<sub>1-5</sub> C om. षट् to केशवेषु, and B<sub>6</sub>, one bit, viz., षट्पदार्थकाणादभुजेषु.
  15. B<sub>3</sub> om. this bit, शान्त etc.
  16. A<sub>2</sub> om. भूमिदेव to मुनिवरेषु, below.
  17. A<sub>1-2</sub> क्षीरोदधि
  18. B<sub>1</sub> क्षम for क्षम
  19. B C वसिष्ठेषु
  20. A<sub>3</sub> चय for वर
  21. B<sub>2-3-5</sub> दुर्वासामुनि
  22. A<sub>1</sub> ग्यजितनारदेषु ; A<sub>2</sub> ग्यजिन्नारदेषु



गम्भीरता<sup>1</sup>तिरस्कृत-महासमुद्रेषु, <sup>2</sup>गुरुत्वलघुतरी<sup>3</sup>विहित-कलधौतगिरिषु, निखिल-जगदार्द्रकाष्ठपरि<sup>4</sup>दाहानलेषु,<sup>5</sup> तनुतनुस्पृष्टानिलस्पर्श-पवित्रकरणार्ह-तीर्थाधिप-प्रयागेषु, विद्वज्जनविराजित-सभाकुमुदवनविकासन-निकरसुधाकरेषु, भगवन्माया-जनित-<sup>6</sup>रागाद्यरञ्जित-गगनवन्निर्मलेषु, नित्यनियमकृद्यज्ञ<sup>7</sup>-सन्तोषितोषित-चतुर्विध-पुरुषार्थप्रद-विष्णुषु, निजलावण्यलव-पामरीकृतातिमनोहर-रतीशेषु<sup>8</sup> ॥ ८ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्गण्य<sup>9</sup>पुण्यचय-प्रोद्भूत<sup>10</sup>-सत्कीर्तिगगनतलोदित-यशः-<sup>11</sup>शरच्चन्द्रकरद्योतद्योतित<sup>12</sup>-दशदिङ्मण्डलनिवासि - धराभिसुरप्रख्यात - सद्बुद्धि-विलासविनोदेषु, <sup>13</sup>गुणिजनगुणज्ञानचातुर्य-प्रवीणवर्याचार्याभिवादित-सकलतीर्था-स्पद-पदद्वन्द्वपूरित-भक्तत्रिवर्णाभिलाषेषु, यमनियमादिसाधन-विमन्दीकृत-मरुद्गण-परमदान्तमुनिवदन-प्रोत्फुल्लारुणसरोज - कमलानिवासकोशनिःसरदनवरतवचनवर - मणिममूहलक्षण-परीक्षाधूरीणसत्परीक्षकानुष्ठितादेशेषु ॥ ९ ॥

<sup>14</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तानन्द-[महिम]-<sup>15</sup>गुणवृन्दसुन्दर-मुकुन्दपादारविन्दद्वन्द्व-परिचिन्तनासादित-सकलगुणमनोरथेषु, शेषाशेषोक्ति-व्याख्याननिपुणेषु, समुद्भूत-भट्ट-वचननिचय-चातुरीधुरीणेषु, विविधापूर्वकल्पनाकल्प-प्राभाकरभारतीभूषणेषु, नानारीतिकमनीय-गौतमीयनयाचार्येषु, निखिलपुराण-नवीकरणावतीर्ण-बाद-

1. A<sub>2</sub> गम्भीरण ; A<sub>1</sub> adds here निरता and A<sub>3</sub> तिरत
2. A<sub>1</sub> om. गुरुत्व to नानलेषु, below.
3. A<sub>2</sub> तर for तरी
4. B<sub>2-3-5</sub> काष्ठारि ; B<sub>4</sub> जगदाद्यार्द्रकाष्ठपरि
5. B<sub>4</sub> दाहानलेषु
6. A<sub>1</sub> सङ्गा for रागा
7. B<sub>1-2-5</sub> कृतयज्ञ
8. A<sub>2</sub> मनोहररसेषु
9. B<sub>5</sub> गणित
10. A<sub>2</sub> प्राग्भूत ; B<sub>4</sub> चयोद्भूत
11. A<sub>2</sub> om. शर
12. A<sub>1</sub> om. द्योत ; A<sub>2</sub> B<sub>5</sub> द्योतन
13. A<sub>1</sub> om. गुणिजन to भिलाषेषु below, next line.
14. A omits the rest of the *Praśastis* in prose and commences with the *Praśastis* in verse. B omits the next seven *Praśastis*, viz., Nos. 10-16, ending this section.
15. C indistinct ; appears मंक्षि



रायणचरणेषु, साहित्यार्णव-कर्णधारेषु, वेदान्तेष्विव परानन्द-प्रकाशकेषु, पातञ्जले-  
ष्विव वशीकृतसार्वभौमेषु, कविवरेष्विव रसभावगुणालङ्कारोचित-रीतिसंवादन-  
कोविदेषु, नामधेयेष्विव साध्वसाधुविवेक-कुशलेषु ॥ १० ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनवद्य-गद्यपद्याद्यनन्तविद्या-विद्याधरी-विहारमन्दिर-वदनार-  
विन्द-विलसदमल-सूक्तिमधुरासार-सन्तततर्पित-विद्वन्मधुकरकुलेषु, इन्दिरादयित-  
मन्दिरायमान-हृदयारविन्देषु, कलिकलुष-कालकूटकवलन-कलाकलित-नीलकण्ठा-  
वतारेषु, सदसद्विचार-चातुरीचतुराननेषु नतयः । यद्यपि मुकुन्दपादारविन्द-परि-  
चिन्तनादरोत्सारित-दुरितकथानाम् अविकलं कलयामः कुशलं कुशलतावतां  
श्रीमताम्, तथापि मुदा सदाचारस्वस्था पृच्छामो, विधीयते भव्यमव्याहृतचित्तानां  
गुणवितानमिति ॥ ११ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनवद्यविद्याविद्योत्तमान-राजमानविराजमान-सुरगुरुसमान-सर-  
स्वतीराजहंसायमानस-विमानविलसदुमारमण-सौजन्यरत्नाकरमहायशेषु, कृतानु-  
गृहीतस्यानन्दकानननिवासिना अमुकशर्मणोऽतिवितता नतिततयः । शमिह श्रीमन्  
अनुदिनमेधमानम् आशास्महे उदन्तश्च ॥ १२ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमज्जगदादिकारण-परवारण-भयवारण-निजजनतारण-योगिपरा-  
यण-नारायणचरण - परचरणशरणान्तःकरण-कृतसंसारण-तिरस्कारण - वाचस्पति -  
वचन-समीचीनीकरण-पटुविषमपद-कदम्ब-संबोधोपस्कृत-वादिगिरिविदारण-दारुण-  
कुलिशास्त्र-शस्त्रस्फुरन्मेदुरोदार-गरिष्ठब्रह्मनिष्ठ-कनिष्ठीकृतवसिष्ठ-प्रशिष्ट - वरिष्ठ -  
विद्वद्बृन्द-जेगीयमान-गुणगणेषु ॥ १३ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखण्डभूमण्डल-पण्डितमण्डली-मण्डनायमानेषु, समुद्रखण्ड-  
प्रचण्डपाण्डित्य - चण्डद्युतिद्योतित - निखिलमहीमण्डलाखण्डल - सदोपमण्डलेषु ,  
प्रकाण्डवर्णताकाण्डाकाण्ड-ताण्डवित-चण्डीश्वरेषु, सारस्वतकलाकलाप-सारीकृता-  
सार'-संसारपारावारेषु ॥ १४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्साक्षाद्विरूपाक्षायितेषु, पण्डितलक्षाधिक-शिक्षादान-दीक्षा-  
विचक्षणेषु, शास्त्रकक्षोपक्षेपदक्ष-विपक्षायक्षेषु, द्वाक्षारसक्षालित-सुधासौन्दर्य-माधुर्य-  
धाराधोरणीधुरीण-वाणीविलास-वशीकृत-वसुन्धराधीश्वरेषु ॥ १५ ॥



स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलगुणगरिष्ठेषु, विद्वद्वरिष्ठेषु, ब्रह्मगोष्ठीकनिष्ठीकृत-वसिष्ठ-  
प्रशिष्ठेषु, समधिक-मेधासमृद्धिसमृद्धानिरुद्ध-यशःपूर-कर्पूरपरिपूरित-दिगन्त-  
रेषु ॥ १६ ॥

॥ इति पण्डितानाम् ॥

ii. <sup>1</sup>अथ विद्वत्प्रभुप्रशस्तिः<sup>2</sup>

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनवद्य-विद्या<sup>3</sup>विद्योत्तमान-प्राप्तराजमान-सज्जन<sup>4</sup>मानसहंसेषु,  
निरन्तरदानसन्तान<sup>5</sup>-तिरस्कृत-सन्तानेषु, मधुरतर<sup>6</sup>-तरङ्गचङ्गिम<sup>7</sup>-गङ्गासौभग<sup>8</sup>तुन्दिल<sup>9</sup>-  
गद्यपद्यानवद्य-हृद्य<sup>10</sup>भारतीसम्भावनाभिनव-वदनारविन्देषु, स्वरूपशोभानिरूपित-  
कामरूपेषु, पितृप्रतिमरागरञ्जितवचनानुरञ्जित<sup>11</sup>-प्रजाःप्रजायमान-परमानन्दसन्दोह-  
दोहदो<sup>12</sup>पात्त-महोदारफलेषु, देवभूदेवदर्शन-परामर्शन-ग्रासपर्याप्त-ग्रासदानावदान-  
तुष्टशिष्टविशिष्ट-शिष्टा<sup>13</sup>चारानुरूप-श्रौतस्मार्त-कर्मनिर्माण-निर्मितशर्मसु समस्ताशी-  
राशी<sup>14</sup>सहस्रमजस्रम् ॥ १ ॥

1. In B, the order of the *Prasastis* that follow differs from that in C which is followed in the present edition. The order in B is as under : शङ्खलाश्लेषप्रस्तारः (Sn. vi, below), विद्वत्प्रभुप्रशस्तिः (Sn. ii, here), प्रधानप्रशस्तिः (Sn. i of the Kṣatriya-viṣaya), आत्मनिष्ठप्रशस्तिप्रकारः (Sn. iv, below), and प्रभुप्रशस्तिः (Sn. iii, below). B omits Sn. v, pertaining to the Yati.

2. B<sub>2.3.5</sub> विद्वत्प्रशस्तिः

3. B<sub>1-4</sub> om. विद्या

4. B<sub>4</sub> haplological om. of मान-सज्जन

5. B<sub>2.3</sub> om. सन्तान

6. B<sub>3</sub> hapl. om. of तर

7. Mss. corrupt : B<sub>1</sub> पङ्क्तिम ; B<sub>2.3.5</sub> सपङ्क्तिम ; B<sub>4</sub> चण्डिम ; B<sub>5</sub> सङ्क्तिम

8. C सौत (? स्रोत)

9. B<sub>5</sub> तुङ्गहिल

10. B<sub>2-5</sub> om. हृद्य

11. B<sub>2</sub> om. वचनानुरञ्जित ; C वनानुरञ्जित

12. B<sub>2-4</sub> om. हदो

13. B<sub>3.8</sub> om. शिष्ट

14. B<sub>1</sub> स्ताशीराशसन ; B<sub>2</sub> D स्ताशीशासन ; B<sub>4</sub> स्ताशीराशीशासन



## iii. अथ प्रभुप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमदमन्दमेदुर-मन्दाकिनीमधुरतर<sup>1</sup>तरङ्ग-धारानिरन्तर-शीकर-  
संसिक्त-मन्दारकुसुमनिष्यन्दि<sup>2</sup>-मकरन्दबिन्दुसन्दोह-सहृदयहृदयशायित-शेषशायि-  
चरण-स्मरण<sup>3</sup>-रसिकेषु, निजचरितचमत्कार-स्मरणविस्मारितौशीनर-शिवि-दधीचि-  
कर्ण-गुणवर्णनेषु, अनेककला<sup>4</sup>प्रकाशकत्वेना<sup>5</sup>न्वर्थाकृत-राजशब्देषु, प्रतिभटकटक-  
विजययात्रावसर-जैत्रभुज<sup>6</sup>भुजङ्ग-जिह्वायमान<sup>7</sup>-प्रह्लाकृष्ट-कोदण्ड-बाह्वासादित<sup>8</sup>-शर-  
काण्डताण्डव-खण्डितावनिखण्डाखण्डल<sup>9</sup>-गर्वितारातिमण्डलनिर्भिन्न<sup>10</sup>चण्डकरमण्ड-  
लेषु, चतुरुदधि-महीमण्डलाहवनीय-कुण्ड-प्रचण्ड<sup>11</sup>-प्रतापज्वलन-हूयमान-महासि-  
जुह्वासादित-बह्वरि<sup>12</sup>-मुण्डखण्ड<sup>13</sup>-पुरोडाशपूरित-रणधरणिमण्डलोद्दामैडा<sup>14</sup>-भाग-  
ग्रहण<sup>15</sup>-महाग्रहाहूत<sup>16</sup>-भूतभैरवकृताशीराशंसन-समुद्भूत-महाभ्युदयेषु, अमुकशर्मसु<sup>17</sup>  
अमुकस्य<sup>18</sup> समस्ताशीराशीःसहस्रमजस्रम् ॥ १ ॥

iv. अथात्मनिष्ठ-प्रशस्तिप्रस्तारः<sup>19</sup>

स्वस्ति श्रीमदुदारचित्त<sup>20</sup>-चिन्तामणिविजित-जैगीषव्योक्ति-युक्त<sup>21</sup>वाक्यप्रकटित-  
पातञ्जलप्राञ्जलसमाधिविधान-तत्तद्भूमिजयोपयुक्त-पराजितागमन-जय<sup>22</sup>जनित-सार्व-

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. B <sub>3.6</sub> om. तर   | 2. C निष्यन्दित  |
| 3. B <sub>2</sub> om. स्मरण  | 4. C कल्प for कला  |
| 5. B <sub>1-3.6</sub> प्रकाशत्वेना   | 6. C om. भुज   |
| 7. C लिहायमान  | 8. B <sub>4</sub> बाह्वास्यन्दित                                 |
| 9. B <sub>1.3</sub> C आखण्डिल  | 10. C विभिन्न  |
| 11. C om. प्रचण्ड  |  |
| 12. Mss. corrupt : B <sub>1.2.5</sub> C ; B <sub>3</sub> बन्हारि   | 13. B <sub>3.5</sub> मुण्डाखण्ड                                  |
| 14. Mss. corrupt : B <sub>1</sub> लोद्दामैडा ; B <sub>4</sub> लोधामप्रभाव ; B <sub>6</sub> लोदामैडा ; C लोडा   |  |
| 15. B <sub>3</sub> भाग्रहण   | 16. B <sub>3</sub> महाहूत ; B <sub>6</sub> महग्रहा ; C महाग्रहूत |
| 17. B विष्णुशर्मसु   | 18. B यज्ञदत्तस्य  |
| 19. B <sub>1.4</sub> C प्रस्तावः   | 20. B <sub>2.3.5</sub> om. चित्त                                 |
| 21. B <sub>3</sub> युक्ति  |  |
| 22. Mss. imperfect : B <sub>1</sub> पराजिताङ्गमे...जय ; B <sub>2</sub> पर्णजातामजय ; B <sub>3</sub> C पराजिताङ्गमेयजय ; B <sub>5</sub> ... गमजय ; B <sub>6</sub> युक्तराजितागमजय |  |



भौमसम्भावित-प्रान्त<sup>1</sup>भूमिचतुष्टय - विस्पष्ट-धर्ममेघ<sup>2</sup> - समाधिसिद्धिविध्वस्त-समस्त -  
क्लेश - कर्मविपाक - विरतिनिरतिशयानन्दसन्दोह - दोहदान्तःकरणप्राप्त - निर्बीज -<sup>3</sup>  
समाधिव्यक्तीकृत-प्रकृतिपुरुषविवेकख्यातिजनित वैराग्यलब्धकैवलेषु, विद्वद्वृन्द-  
वादविदित<sup>4</sup>-वेदान्तार्थसमर्थनपरार्थेषु, <sup>5</sup>अस्मदेकाश्रयीभूतेषु, पूज्यतमेषु<sup>6</sup> देवदत्तेषु  
यज्ञदत्तस्य प्रणतिसहस्रमजस्रम् ॥ १ ॥

v. अथ यतिनः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्कामनाविकृत-भगवत्पदभावनानिर्मल-स्वान्तःसमुल्लसद्-  
वेदान्त - निशाविश्रान्तानन्तानन्द-निर्द्वन्द्व-संविच्चन्द्रिका - चमत्कृति-तिरस्कृत - मोह -  
तिमिरतिरस्कारणीप्रपञ्चेषु, श्रीमत्परमहंस-परिव्राजकाचार्यवर्य-श्रीमच्छङ्करसूनुतैक-  
रसिकेषु, स्वाश्रमधर्म-मर्यादापरिपालनतत्परेषु, श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजक अमुक-  
स्वामिचरणेषु ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदमन्दपरिवृन्दवन्दित-पदद्वन्द्वारविन्देषु, श्रीमद्भोविन्दपरि-  
चिन्तनोद्यतानन्द-सन्दोहतुन्दिलहृदयेषु, तत्त्वज्ञानामृतासार-विरसदूरोत्सारितानाद्य-  
विद्यासादित-सच्चिदानन्दस्वरूपेषु, अमुकस्वामिचरणेषु ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्-स्मरहरचरण-परिचरण-सद्यःसमुद्यदुद्दाम-दयोदय-सम्मर्द-  
मर्दित-रागादिमनोमलेषु, आनन्दघन-ब्रह्मगहनसञ्चार-पञ्चाननेषु, समस्तचञ्चत्-  
प्रचण्डपाण्डित्य-चण्डरोचिरोचिःसञ्चय-प्रकाशीकृताशेष-ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डेषु, श्रीमद-  
मुकस्वामिचरणेषु ॥ ३ ॥

vi. अथ शृङ्खलाश्लेषप्रस्तारः ।<sup>8</sup> तत्रैव तपोवनवर्णनम् ।

बहुलपक्षमिव वह्न्यादिपीयमानसोमम्, सोममिव समुल्लसित<sup>9</sup>सहृदयहृदय-  
रागम्, रागमिव स्वरसन्निहितग्रामम्, ग्राममिव बहुजनसङ्कुलम्, कुलमिव सञ्चरि-

1. B<sub>3</sub> om. प्रान्त ; B<sub>8</sub> प्रति

2. B<sub>4</sub> धर्ममेघ

3. C प्राप्तबीज

4. B<sub>4</sub> विहित

5. C om. अस्म to देवदत्तेषु

6. B<sub>4</sub> om. this word.

7. As pointed out before, B omits this section.

8. C om. this part of the heading. 9. B<sub>1,4</sub> समुल्लासित



तम्, सच्चरितमिव सर्व<sup>1</sup>पापहरम्, हरमिव गङ्गाधरम्, धरमिव पद्मपरिशीलितवज्रम्, वज्रमिव सन्तोषागारम्, आगारमिव चन्द्रवेधजविराजमानम्, विराजमानमिव क्षणोप-  
क्षिप्तामृतम्, अमृतमिव महापुरुषलभ्यम्, लभ्यमिव उपस्थितफलविशालम्, शालमिव  
परिशीलितनागम्, नागमिव स्फुरद्दान<sup>2</sup>द्विजदर्शनम्, द्विजदर्शनमिव सम्पत्सरोजिनी-  
हंसम्, हंसमिव सर्वदाधिष्ठितमानसम्, मानसमिव नितान्तनिर्मलसलिलम्,  
सलिलनिधिमिव मुक्ताहारमनोहरजलम्, जलमिव शिशिरम्, शिशिरमिव  
तपनताप<sup>3</sup>निवारणपरम्, रणपरमिव खड्गप्रतिहन्यमान-परवारणसहस्रम्, सहस्रार्जुन-  
मिव अनसूयापालनप्रभूतप्रतापम्, प्रतापवन्तमिव प्रतिपक्षोपचीयमानार्जुनगुणम्,  
अर्जुनगुणमिव समित्सम्भाराभिरामम्, राममिव परित्यक्त-सीतासमुत्पन्न-कुशलव-  
दर्शनोत्कण्ठितम्, कण्ठाभरणमिवोत्तरगिरेः<sup>4</sup> कण्ठावरोधनमिव दिवो वैकुण्ठापरपर्यायं  
गौरीतपोवनमविशम् ॥ १ ॥

## vii. पद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाप्रौढ<sup>5</sup>विद्योपार्जितकीर्तिषु ।

स्फुरन्तु नतयः कामममुकेषु सदा<sup>7</sup> शुभाः ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्त्रिलोकाब्जप्रकाशरविमूर्तिषु ।

अमुकेषु वरिष्ठेषु नतीनां ततयः पराः ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमज्जगद्वन्द्यचरणाम्बुरुहेषु मे ।

कोटिशो नतयः श्रीमद<sup>8</sup>मुकेषु निरन्तरम् ॥ ३ ॥

1. B<sub>8</sub> om. सर्व

2. B<sub>8</sub> om. दान

3. C तापन

4. B<sub>5,6</sub> C भरणोत्तरगिरेः

5. In B<sub>2</sub> this verse is added in the margin. B<sub>3</sub> om. the line, and has, instead, a verse made up of the first half of the next verse and the second half of the present verse. B<sub>4</sub> om. the verse.

6. A. C महत्प्रौढ

7. B. C महा for सदा

8. B<sub>3</sub> स्वस्तिमत् (hypermetrical) for श्रीमत्.



कनिष्ठविषये—

स्वस्ति श्रीमच्चिरञ्जीविप्राणाधिकतरेष्वितः ।  
स्फुरन्तु कोटिशः<sup>1</sup> स्नेहादाशिषां राशयो मम ॥ ४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्परानन्दकन्देषु<sup>2</sup> नितरामितः ।  
मनोवाक्काय<sup>3</sup>विहिता विलसन्त्वाशिषः शुभाः ॥ ५ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्रमाकान्तपादाब्ज<sup>4</sup>रतिशालिषु ।  
चिरञ्जीव्यमुक्तेष्वशीर्भवत्वविरतं मम ॥ ६ ॥

स्नेहिविषये—

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समन्तान्निखिलमुनिगणाभ्यस्तविद्याविनोद-  
प्रोद्यद्गोष्ठीगरिष्ठी<sup>5</sup>कृतविबुधसभामण्डनामण्डनेषु ।  
स्नेहादानम्रमूर्ध्ना विहितनतिततिर्भूयसी मेऽस्तु नित्यम्  
प्राणाधिक्येषु कामं सकलसुखमयेष्वादराद्बोधदेषु ॥ ७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुवेदाद्गुणगणवलितप्रोल्लसत्पूर्णविद्या-  
चञ्चच्चातुर्यचर्याचरितचयविलासार्थभव्याननेषु<sup>6</sup> ।  
वादीन्द्रव्यूहहस्ति<sup>7</sup>प्रकट<sup>8</sup>वरशिरःच्छेदसिंहेष्वनन्ताः  
स्नेहाद् भूयु<sup>9</sup>नितान्तं नतय ऋषिवरालभ्यसौम्ये<sup>10</sup>वसङ्ख्याः ॥ ८ ॥

1. C कोटयः

2. A<sub>1</sub> परमानन्दकेषु

3. B<sub>1-3.5.6</sub> C वाञ्छाय

4. A. B<sub>4</sub> पदाब्ज

5. B<sub>1.2.4</sub> om. गरिष्ठी

6. B. C. भव्याननेषु

7. B. C हस्ती

8. A<sub>1</sub> निकट

9. भूयुः, ungrammatical; used for भूयासुः due to exigencies of metre.

This usage is met with also below. 10. A सौम्ये



स्वस्ति श्रीमत्(सु नित्यं प्र)<sup>1</sup>रघुवरपदाम्भोजभक्तिप्रताप-  
 प्रोद्यद्गद्यातिपद्यावलि<sup>2</sup>वलितयशःपूरनद्याधिपेषु ।  
<sup>3</sup>सत्सङ्गस्नेहमुक्तामणिनिकरलसन्मानसेष्वादारान्मे  
 विस्फूर्जन्तु<sup>4</sup> प्रकामं नयनरसमयाश्चासृदण्डप्रणामाः ॥ ९ ॥

viii. <sup>5</sup>कुशललेखनप्रकारः<sup>6</sup>

भव्यं<sup>7</sup> शङ्करसेव्यमूर्तिकृपया नित्यं वरीवर्ति नः  
 श्रुत्वा <sup>8</sup>सन्मुदमेति सज्जनमनो दैन्यं निजं मुञ्चति<sup>9</sup> ।  
 भावत्कं कुशलं प्रति<sup>10</sup>क्षणमिदं<sup>11</sup> वाञ्छामहे सर्वदा  
 दुष्टध्वान्तविदार<sup>12</sup>नैकतरणिज्योतिः परं सौख्यदम् ॥ १ ॥

- 
1. Mss. lack four syllables after श्रीमत्
  2. C Unconscious om. from वलि to मानसे, next line.
  3. A<sub>1</sub> सत्सङ्ग ; A<sub>3</sub> तत्सङ्ग
  4. A<sub>1-3</sub> स्फूर्यन्तु. These and other Mss. often write स्फूर्यत् for स्फूर्जत्, which will not be noticed below as a variant.
  5. The Mss. generally prefix the headings with अथ, which is dropped in this edition.
  6. The Mss. read the headings, here as also below, in similar places, as लिखन- or लेखन- and with or without -प्रकारः । These headings have been made uniform in this edition.
  7. A. B<sub>2-4</sub> सच्छं, B<sub>1</sub> स्वच्छं and B<sub>5</sub> स्पष्ट for भव्यं
  8. B. C स for य
  9. A<sub>1-3</sub> B. C त्यक्ष्यति
  10. A<sub>2</sub> One. folio, containing ति to ग्रामेषु, below (p. 17), lost.
  11. A<sub>4</sub> क्षणदिनं
  12. A<sub>4</sub> निवार for विदार । B<sub>5</sub> breaks off, in the middle of a page, with विदार



चञ्चलचतुर्थवर्ष !<sup>1</sup> प्रथितगुणलसत्कीर्तिचन्द्रप्रकाश !  
 श्रीमद्धर्मप्रतिष्ठाविजितमुनिगणस्नेहपूरैकराशे !<sup>2</sup> ।  
 भव्यं तत्रत्य<sup>3</sup>मीहे सकलसुखमयं वर्द्धमानं नितान्तं  
 श्रीमत्प्रीतिप्रतापादिह निहितमहो<sup>4</sup> तद्वरीवर्ति कामम् ॥ २ ॥

शमस्ति नितरामत्र श्रीमदीयमुपास्यहे ।  
 येनान्तःकरणे सौख्यमविनाशि प्रजायते ॥ ३ ॥

भवदीयं वरीवर्द्धमानमीहे सुखेन शम् ।  
 वरीवर्ति तदेवात्र स्नेहपात्र ! प्रतिक्षणम् ॥ ४ ॥

<sup>5</sup>शमस्त्यत्र<sup>6</sup> दयासिन्धो ! भवदीयमिहेष्यते ।  
 सदैव येन मे चेतः सुखं प्राप्नो<sup>7</sup>त्यहर्निशम्<sup>8</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

शमस्तीह भृशं भूमन् भवदीयं समीहते<sup>9</sup> ।  
 मनो मे परमाह्लादप्राप्तये योगवित्तम ! ॥ ६ ॥

ix. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः<sup>10</sup>

भवत्पत्रं घनश्यामं कदाचिदपि नागतम् ।  
 मनोमयूरः<sup>11</sup> प्रेम्णासौ<sup>12</sup> मोदते नैव तद्<sup>13</sup> विना ॥ १ ॥

- 
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> सर्प for वर्ष                | 2. B <sub>1.2.4.5</sub> राशि           |
| 3. B <sub>1.2.3.5</sub> तत्पत्र                | 4. A <sub>1</sub> प्रतापाद्यदि नियतमहो |
| 5. A <sub>3</sub> om. the verse.               | 6. B <sub>4</sub> शमित्यत्र            |
| 7. A <sub>1.3</sub> B <sub>1</sub> C सुखमाप्नो | 8. A <sub>1.3</sub> C त्यनव्ययम्       |
| 9. A <sub>1</sub> समीमहे                       |  |
10. Mss. read thus and as पत्रोपालम्भनप्रकारः, पत्रोपालम्भनलेखनप्रकारः etc. The wording has been made uniform in this edition and the variations are not noticed, here as also in similar headings, below.
11. The Mss do not have the *visarga*.
12. A<sub>1.3</sub> एवासौ
13. A<sub>1</sub> B. C त for तद्



क्रियते स्मरणं भक्त्या भवदीयमहर्निशम् ।  
श्रीमद्भिर्विस्मृतं तत्र को वेद किमु कारणम्<sup>१</sup> ॥ २ ॥

नागतः कोऽपि तत्रत्यो नरः प्रीतिविवर्द्धनः ।  
तस्मान्महोयसी<sup>२</sup> चिन्ता जायतेऽन्तर्गरीयसी<sup>३</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

भवत्पत्रं सुवृत्ताढ्यं सुखदं च सुधोपमम्<sup>४</sup> ।  
विश्लेषतापसन्ततमनःक्लेशनिवारणम् ॥ ४ ॥

पत्रं कुशलवृत्तान्तं ध्रुवं<sup>५</sup> जानन्ति पण्डिताः ।  
तदुत्तरं विचार्याशु लिखन्ति सुखहेतवे ॥ ५ ॥

लिख्यते यदि नो पत्रं स्नेहसौख्यप्रकाशकम् ।  
तदा<sup>६</sup> चिन्ताकुलं चेतः शून्यमन्तर्विचेष्टते<sup>७</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

न धनं<sup>८</sup> न च भूराज्यं मणिमद्गृहमद्भुतम् ।  
विना पत्रेण वाञ्छामि भवद्वृत्तान्तशालिना ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति ब्राह्मणविषयः ॥

1. A<sub>1</sub> किं भवेदत्र कारणम्

3. A<sub>1</sub> जायते सततं मम

5. A<sub>3</sub>. C. D न्तदूतं

7. B. C चेष्टितम्

2. A<sub>1</sub> तस्माच्च महसी

4. B<sub>5</sub> सुखोपमम्

6. A<sub>1</sub> तथा

8. B<sub>5</sub> धनं न



## III. अथ क्षत्रियविषयः

## i. प्रधानप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीसमस्तसामन्तसेवानिर्वाहकेषु, कोश-कृषि<sup>1</sup>-शृषीवल-गज-वाजि-गृह-परि<sup>2</sup>बर्ह-हर्ष<sup>3</sup>हेतु-नीतिसेतु-रक्षणनिपुणेषु, परोपकारसत्कारनिपुणेषु, वेदान्तेष्विव परानन्द<sup>4</sup>प्रकाशकेषु,<sup>5</sup> पातञ्जलेष्विव वशीकृतसार्वभौमेषु, साङ्ख्यगमेष्विव प्रकृति-मधुरेषु, विध्युद्देशेष्विव स्वार्थपरिहारेण परार्थैकपरायणेषु, नैयायिकेष्विव प्रकटित-सकलप्रमाणेषु, वैयाकरणेष्विव साधितानेकप्रयोगेषु, विद्वत्कविवरेष्विव सरसीकृतरसालङ्कारगुण<sup>6</sup> - ध्वनिभाव - काव्यकौतुकविचारसञ्चारित<sup>7</sup> - तर्कतरङ्गेषु, तापसेष्विव स्फुरत्प्रत्यगात्म-स्वरूपेषु, समस्ताशीराशीः<sup>8</sup>सहस्रमजस्रम्<sup>10</sup> ॥ १ ॥

## ii. गद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रबल<sup>11</sup>-हयगजरथपदातिवल-प्रतापनिर्जित-प्रचण्डकाण्ड-<sup>12</sup> 18दोर्दण्डारातिचय-चमू<sup>14</sup>लब्ध-यशःपूरमयामृतोदधि-प्रकामोद्यच्छरदूराकेशकरप्रकाश-प्रकाशीकृताखण्ड-ब्रह्माण्डमण्डलेषु, परमसद्बुद्धि<sup>15</sup>विस्तारिता-लौकिक-पराक्रमा-क्रामितानेक<sup>16</sup>-बलवद्वराधीश-<sup>17</sup>गुरुमौलिलसन्मुकुटमणिविस्फुरत्-कान्तिपरिचुम्बित-<sup>18</sup> चरणकमलेषु, विमलधर्माजितधनाधिप-विशालतम-कनकमय-कोशदानातिशय-भूप-वद्विहित-चञ्चत्सुविद्याविनोद-प्रमोदानन्दितान्तःकरण-विद्वद्-द्विजवरसमूहेषु ॥ १ ॥

1. C कृष

2. B<sub>1</sub> पारि3. B<sub>4</sub> om. हर्ष (B<sub>4</sub> adds it in the margin).4. B<sub>8</sub> परमानन्द5. B<sub>2,3,5</sub> प्रकाशेषु । Ms. C breaks off here, abruptly.6. B<sub>5</sub> om. गुण7. B<sub>2,3,5</sub> om. त8. B<sub>3,4</sub> add प्र, here.9. B<sub>3</sub> om. राशीः10. A om. this *Prasasti*. In B, it occurs earlier, following II. ii. 1.11. A<sub>1,3</sub> add here तर12. A<sub>1</sub> om. काण्ड13. A<sub>1,3</sub> प्रोद्दण्ड for दोर्दण्ड14. A<sub>1</sub> adds here जय15. A<sub>1</sub> adds here, विस्तार and A<sub>3</sub> विस्तर16. A<sub>3</sub> पराक्रमक्रामात्क्रामिताने ; C पराक्रामात्क्रामितानेक17. A<sub>1</sub> बलवद्विपक्षेलाधीश ; A<sub>3</sub> बलवदिलाधीश ; B<sub>4</sub> नेकवज्रवद्वराधीश18. B<sub>4</sub> परिलम्बित



स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलसुखसमाजविराजमान-विमलधार्मिकानेक-सुरराज-समान-<sup>1</sup>सामन्तोपहारीकृत<sup>2</sup>-कनकमय-गजाश्वशब्दायितद्वारदेशेषु, प्रोद्दण्डप्रचण्डा-खण्ड - विपक्षबलप्रोद्भटभट्ट<sup>3</sup>समूहसङ्कर्तन<sup>4</sup> - निर्दयातिशय - तीक्ष्णधारसहायी<sup>5</sup> कृत-<sup>6</sup>खङ्ग -<sup>7</sup>दिग्विजयविनोदानन्दानन्दित-महाभूताधिपशिवेषु, षट्शास्त्रसद्विचारविचार्य-माण - परम<sup>8</sup>पुरुषार्थमय<sup>9</sup> - ब्रह्मनिरत-विबुधमण्डलीविधीयमानाशीर्वचन - संवर्द्धित - राज्यसम्पद्-वितरणनितान्तनिर्दलित<sup>10</sup>-भिन्नुजनदरिद्रेषु ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुभटमण्डलीमण्डन-विविधवीरजन-मौलिमुकुटरत्न-मरीचि-चय-<sup>11</sup>चमत्कार-नीराजितचरणपीठेषु,<sup>12</sup> चञ्चन्निशितधारासि-सन्ताप<sup>13</sup>प्रतापित-जगदखण्डमण्डल-धरणी<sup>14</sup>धर-दीर्घतरकन्दरालीन - प्रतिपक्षिजन<sup>15</sup>प्रस्तूयमान-गुण -<sup>16</sup>ग्रामेषु, <sup>17</sup>परमपुण्याचरणमय-ऋतुविराजमान-सत्तीर्थ<sup>18</sup>-स्थानकृतधाम-विद्वज्जन-समासन<sup>19</sup>प्रदानलब्ध-निर्व्यया<sup>20</sup>ह्लादाह्लादित-निजसमाजान्तःकरणवृत्तिषु ॥ ३ ॥

1. B<sub>1.2.4</sub> स for सा
2. B<sub>5</sub> the portion रीकृत to चार्यमाण (2 lines below) transposed to after पटीरद्रव (page 18, lines 4), probably due to the reverse placement of a folio in the exemplar of this Ms.
3. A<sub>1.3</sub> B<sub>3</sub> भट for भट्ट ; A<sub>1.3</sub> also add समस्त here.
4. A<sub>1.3</sub> सङ्कर्तन ; B<sub>2.3</sub> संवर्तन
5. A. B<sub>2.3</sub> तीक्ष्णधार
6. A<sub>1.3</sub> सहायकृत (A<sub>3</sub> साहाय<sup>o</sup>) ; B<sub>1</sub> शयीकृत ; B<sub>3</sub> सहायिकृत
7. A<sub>1</sub> adds here अतिमित्र
8. A<sub>3</sub> om. म
9. A<sub>1</sub> om. मय
10. A<sub>1</sub> om. निर्दलित
11. A<sub>1</sub> adds चञ्चत्
12. A<sub>1</sub> पीठकेषु ; B<sub>1.2.3.5</sub> पीठिकेषु
13. A<sub>1.3</sub> प्रताप ; B<sub>2.3.5</sub> क्षताप
14. A<sub>1</sub> om. धरणी
15. B om. प्र
16. A<sub>1.3</sub> add गण
17. A<sub>2</sub> commences again after the loss of a folio.
18. A<sub>1.2</sub> B<sub>1-3.5</sub> सतीर्थ
19. Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1.2</sub> समाशत ; A<sub>3</sub> सभाशनसमान ; B<sub>2.3.5</sub> प्रमाण
20. A<sub>2</sub> लब्धाशीरा ; B<sub>4</sub> लब्धनिर्भया



स्वस्ति श्रीमदुद्दामगुण<sup>1</sup>ग्राम-विस्फुरत्कमलमुख-भरत<sup>2</sup>विशदीकृतानेकसङ्गीत-  
प्रकार-गन्धर्वविद्या<sup>3</sup>प्रचाराग्रगणीय-<sup>4</sup>गुणिजनजेगीयमान-यशोदानन्दकन्दकर्मपराक्रम-  
श्रवण-रसास्वादानन्दार्थि<sup>5</sup>-मनोभिलाषित<sup>6</sup>-विविधपदार्थदानसंसक्तमानसेषु, विलस-  
दतिसुगन्धागरुकर्पूरकुङ्कुममृग<sup>7</sup>सदामोद-मेदुरीभूत-पटीरद्रवाप्लावित-महाहर्षतर-  
वसनपरिधान-मुखसेवित-द्विजवरसमाज-विराजमान-सभामण्डलेषु, नियतविहित-  
परोपकृतितरङ्गिणी<sup>8</sup>-तरलतरङ्गसंवर्द्धित-कल्पलताललाममूलदेश-विलासनिहित-<sup>9</sup>  
निजवशीभूत-विविधभूपाल-रतिसमानीकृताङ्गण-सुधाधरा<sup>10</sup>स्पद्<sup>11</sup>-प्रथित<sup>12</sup>-यशःपूर-  
प्रकाशप्रकाशित-त्रिलोकीतलेषु<sup>13</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समन्त्र<sup>14</sup>विधानोक्त-शास्त्रास्त्रधारण<sup>15</sup>सञ्जात-गरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठा<sup>16</sup>सहाय-  
मात्र<sup>17</sup>-दिक्चक्रपरिप्राप्त<sup>18</sup>जाम्बूनदविवर्द्धितानेक<sup>19</sup>सुमेरूपमेय-कोशागारव्यापार-<sup>20</sup>  
विहित-बहुदक्षिणाचार<sup>21</sup>-यज्ञसंरम्भ<sup>22</sup>-प्रतीक्षणधार<sup>23</sup>स्वखङ्गविहित<sup>24</sup>-विप्रारण्यनिवासि-  
प्रोद्दण्डप्रचण्डदरिपञ्चास्येषु,<sup>25</sup> स्वीयपराक्रमाक्रामित<sup>26</sup>परवलानीत-कनकमयसमाज-

1. A Adds गण here.

2. A भारत

3. A adds here wrongly धर

4. A<sub>3</sub> om. गुणि ; B<sub>2</sub> गुणित5. A<sub>1</sub> नन्दार्पित6. A<sub>2</sub> मनोभिलाषित7. A<sub>2</sub> adds मद8. A<sub>1,2</sub> add here तरङ्ग9. B<sub>4</sub> om. निहित10. B<sub>4</sub> धारा°11. A<sub>1,2</sub> धरास्य12. A<sub>1</sub> प्रथित13. A<sub>2</sub> त्रिलोकीतलेषु14. A<sub>2</sub> सम्मन्त्र15. A<sub>2</sub> शास्त्राचरण ; A<sub>3</sub> शास्त्रास्त्रचरण ; B<sub>2,3</sub> धरण16. B<sub>4</sub> om. प्रतिष्ठा

17. A adds here जित

18. A<sub>1</sub> परियाम19. B<sub>4</sub> om. (अ)नेक20. A<sub>1</sub> व्ययव्यापार ; B<sub>1,4</sub> om. व्यय21. A<sub>1</sub> राय for चार

22. A सम्भार ; also om. प्र following.

23. A om. स्व

24. A<sub>1</sub> खङ्गानल25. A<sub>1</sub> दरिद्रयज्वासेषु ; A<sub>2,3</sub> B<sub>4</sub> दरिद्रपञ्चास्येषु26. A<sub>1</sub> पराक्रामामित ; A<sub>2</sub> पराक्रमामित ; A<sub>3</sub> पराक्रमामित



संवलित<sup>1</sup>-गजरथाश्वनिवह-दानातिशय-लघुतरीकृत<sup>2</sup>-सकल<sup>3</sup>सुरमुकुटवन्दित-चरण-  
कमलद्वन्द्व-शुनासीरसहस्रेषु, महदुदभटभट<sup>4</sup>-वितत<sup>5</sup>-तनूरुहोद्गमकरण-सध्रीचीन-  
रणाङ्गणगमन<sup>6</sup>-रसाह्लादप्रोत्फुल्लान्तःकरणोपशोभित<sup>7</sup>-वलवत्करास्त्रविच्छिन्न-<sup>8</sup>  
विपक्ष-शिरःसमूहनिःसरद्रधिरप्रवाहपरितोषित-नृत्यद्गिरिसुतापतिगणेषु ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>9</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमदुद्दामदानविजितेन्द्र-दधीचप्रभृति-महादानिषु, यज्ञाचरणलब्ध-  
प्रतिष्ठागरिष्ठ<sup>10</sup>-विश्वामित्रेषु, नयविचारविशारद-बलिषु, सद्बुद्धयपारसागरपारद-  
गणाधिपेषु, धनुर्विद्याविधानाग्रगण्य-द्रोणेषु, धीरजनश्लाघ्यवीररस<sup>11</sup>रसिक-परशुरामेषु,  
वलवन्महदहङ्कारप्रतापज्वलन-परिस्फुटविशालज्वाला-भस्मीकृतारिसमूह-दुर्वासो-  
मुनिषु, सत्सम्भाषणनिरत-युधिष्ठिरेषु, शत्रुचयचमूमेषावलिध्वंसन-विधुरपराक्रम-  
मृगेन्द्रेषु, प्रजापालनपरायण<sup>12</sup>पृथुषु, नान्यनरान्तःकरण-तर्क्यगाम्भीर्य-रत्नाकरेषु,  
रणाङ्गणविस्फुरदस्त्रसंरक्षित-शरणागतार्तगणेषु, चञ्चच्चारुप्रोत्फुल्ल-नीरजदल<sup>13</sup>नय-  
नाङ्गना<sup>14</sup>-मनोहरणसौन्दर्यातिशयशालि-रतिरमणकान्तेषु, स्वप्रतापप्रकाश-निर्वाहिता-  
खण्डधरणिमण्डल-प्राणभृदीहित-समस्तकार्यकमल-मार्तण्डेषु, विद्वज्जनाकाण्डयशः-  
प्रकथन<sup>15</sup>-सहस्ररसनेषु, निजभुजबलोपार्जित-विशाल<sup>16</sup>धन-धराधरवितरण-विलज्जी-  
कृत-राजराजेषु, स्वज्ञातिस्वान्तानन्द<sup>17</sup>पयोनिधिवर्द्धन-पूर्णचन्द्रेषु, द्विजवराशीर्वचन-  
समेधिताजातशत्रु-राज्यरक्षण-विदग्ध-रामेषु, धर्माचरण-नियमनिष्ठाम्बरीषेषु,  
भक्तिभावानुभावभावित<sup>18</sup>-मनोवृत्ति<sup>19</sup>स्फुरच्छारद-नारदेषु, भिलुभवन-दुःख<sup>20</sup>प्रद-

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|--|--|
| 1. B <sub>1-4</sub> सन्दलित ; B <sub>2-5</sub> सङ्कलित   | 2. B <sub>2</sub> भूत for कृत                |
| 3. A <sub>1</sub> extra साकले after this.  | 4. B <sub>1-4-5</sub> om. भट                 |
| 5. A <sub>1</sub> विरचित ; B <sub>1</sub> विधूत  | 6. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : सध्रीचीरणागणागमन |
| 7. A करणोत्थित   | 8. A <sub>1</sub> विचित्र                    |
| 9. B om. the rest of the <i>Prasasti-s</i> , in prose, Nos. 6-9.                                 |  |
| 10. A <sub>2</sub> om. गरिष्ठ  | 11. A <sub>2</sub> om. रस                    |
| 12. A <sub>1</sub> परयशः for परायण   | 13. A <sub>2-3</sub> नीलोत्पलदल              |
| 14. A <sub>1</sub> नयनाङ्गणा(?)नां   | 15. A <sub>2</sub> प्रकम्पन                  |
| 16. A <sub>2-3</sub> om. विशाल   | 17. A <sub>1</sub> स्वानन्द                  |
| 18. A <sub>1</sub> भाविज ; A <sub>3</sub> नुभवभावित  | 19. A <sub>1</sub> adds here वि              |
| 20. A <sub>2</sub> one folio lost, extending from <sup>0</sup> ख up to प्रबलतर (p. 18, line 1 ). |  |



दरिद्रारण्य-दावानलेषु, दशदिग्विलासि-भूपालकरगृहीत-पूजोप<sup>१</sup>करणक्रियेषु,<sup>२</sup>  
परिपूर्णकृत-निखिलपावकमनोभिलषित-कल्पद्रुमेषु, गुणिजनमनोलालनवित्त-<sup>३</sup>  
विलापन<sup>४</sup>-चिन्तामणिषु, गृहीतखड्गमात्रसहायवशीकृत-सुरनरेश<sup>५</sup>वसतिमण्डलेषु ॥६॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रोद्दण्डप्रचण्डास्त्रगुण-पाण्डित्यविशद-विज्ञानोदिताभिमान-  
प्रतापतरणि - प्रोत्फुल्लहृदयारविन्दावगणित - नित्यत्रासपरिचीणपलायनलदमाङ्कित -  
विपक्षबलसुधादीधितिषु, जगदनलसंवलद्-दीर्घज्वालावलीस्फारसन्तापित<sup>६</sup>-परित्यक्त-  
भवनसुख-मुनिजनमनःशीतलीकरण-विनियोजित-सत्कीर्त्यमृतधारेषु, नियतकल-  
धौत-भुवनाभिवर्षण-प्रबलतरधारधोरणीप्रपूरपूरित-समस्तदरिद्रग्रहगृहस्थ - विद्वज्जन -  
मन्दिरेषु<sup>७</sup> ॥७॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्गजगणसमूह<sup>८</sup>-रथचय-धनागमप्रतिष्ठाविलास<sup>९</sup>-पदाति-धोरणी-  
सुभट-जयकीर्तिषु, पूर्णसिद्ध<sup>१०</sup>समाज-सुखविनिःसृतमानस-संसेव्यमान-परमप्रकाश-  
मय-रमारमणचरणसरोज-सद्भावभावितान्तःकरण-षट्पदवृत्तिषु, यातषड्दर्शन-  
सुदर्शनाद्यदर्शनविशालि-चञ्चद्विशालसभा<sup>११</sup>दर्शित-न्यायपथसमाचरणसमेधित<sup>१२</sup>-सद्-  
भावेधित-प्रज्ञाश्वसनचतुरज्ञान-परिस्फुटग्रहृष्ट-भव्यभव्यार्थेषु, स्वरूपजित-ललित<sup>१३</sup>रति-  
तिलोत्तमा-पुलोमजा-शची<sup>१४</sup>-प्रभृतिदिव्याङ्गनाङ्गण - मनोभिलषितानेकविध-विलास -  
रसिकनागरेषु ॥ ८ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रोद्दण्डोद्दण्डातितीक्ष्णतर-खड्गसहायमात्रामात्य-विजिता-  
खण्डभूमण्डल - विलसत्तल्लामप्रकाश - यशोधाम<sup>१५</sup> - प्रकाश - प्रकृष्टतर - नीर<sup>१६</sup>प्रपूरा-  
प्लावितानेकविपक्षभूपालसमूहेषु, सकलगुणिजनवन्दित<sup>१७</sup>-चरणद्वन्द्व-विद्वज्जनाभ्यस्त<sup>१८</sup>

- |                                     |  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. A <sub>3</sub> भुजोप             | 2. A <sub>1</sub> कृतेषु                       |
| 3. A <sub>3</sub> गुणिगणार्चिता     | 4. A <sub>3</sub> विलपन                        |
| 5. A <sub>3</sub> सुरनरारग (?नरोरग) | 6. A <sub>3</sub> सन्तापतापित                  |
| 7. A <sub>3</sub> जनोचमन्दिरेषु     | 8. A <sub>3</sub> गजमणिहयव्यूह                 |
| 9. A <sub>3</sub> समूह for विलास    | 10. A <sub>3</sub> जयकीर्तिप्रपूरसिद्ध         |
| 11. A <sub>1</sub> सम्भार for सभा   | 12. A <sub>1</sub> समेवसद्भावधित (?)           |
| 13. A <sub>3</sub> लजित             | 14. A <sub>1</sub> प्राची ; A <sub>3</sub> सची |
| 15. A भ्रान्ति for धाम              | 16. A <sub>3</sub> Hapl. om. of प्रकृष्टतरनीर  |
| 17. A <sub>3</sub> जनेडित           | 18. A <sub>1</sub> जनाभ्यास                    |



सच्छास्त्रगोष्ठीविलाससिद्धान्त - ब्रह्मादिमुखोद्गीर्ण-निगम<sup>1</sup>गरिष्ठीकृत - सच्चिदा -  
नन्दस्वरूपध्यानान्तःशुद्धमानसेषु, सदाचारविचार-कलधौतवितरणानन्दामोदित-<sup>2</sup>  
विविधभूम्यामरावली<sup>3</sup>वितरिताशीर्वचन<sup>4</sup>-परिपूर्णमनोरथेषु, श्रीराजाधिराजदेव-  
अमुकवर्मसु शुभाशीर्वचनविधायक-अमुकस्यार्थस्वर्षपरपराद्धाशिषां राशयः ॥ ६ ॥

iii. <sup>5</sup>पद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीमल्लसद्बाहु<sup>6</sup>समुपार्जितकीर्तिषु ।

स्फुरन्तु सततं सत्याः सुरश्लाघ्याः पराशिषः ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्धनुर्विद्याविलासरसिकेष्वितः ।

आशिषः सन्तु विहिताः पुत्रपौत्रार्थविस्तृताः ॥ २ ॥

<sup>7</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमच्चलद्विद्युद्युतिजित्बङ्गशालिषु<sup>8</sup> ।

विलसन्त्वाशिषां भव्या राशयः प्रीतिपूर्वकाः ॥ ३ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रचण्डार्थदानत्रासितमेरुषु ।

यशःकीर्तिरमां<sup>9</sup> नित्यं वर्द्धयन्त्वाशिषः पराः ॥ ४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्यशश्चन्द्रप्रकाशितजगत्त्रिषु ।

विद्वद्धारिद्र्य<sup>10</sup>दाहेषु राशयस्त्वाशिषां मम ॥ ५ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्दरिद्राब्धिमग्नविप्रवरेष्वहम्<sup>11</sup> ।

वितनोमि<sup>12</sup> सदा प्रीत्या भव्याशीर्वचनं भृशम् ॥ ६ ॥

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|--|--|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> निर्भय ; A <sub>3</sub> निभम (?निगम) | 2. A <sub>1</sub> नन्दोदित             |
| 3. A <sub>1</sub> भूम्याप्रहारावली                     | 4. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt, ताशाप्राचीन |
| 5. B commences after the om.                           | 6. A <sub>1</sub> बाज for बाहु         |
| 7. B <sub>3</sub> om. the verse.                       | 8. A <sub>1</sub> शालिनीः              |
| 9. A रमा   | 10. Mss. read only द्र for द्रय        |
| 11. A <sub>3</sub> B विप्रोद्धरेष्वहम्                 | 12. C <sub>1.4</sub> ति for मि         |



## प्रशस्तिकाशिका

स्वस्ति श्रीमत् (प्रभाव)<sup>1</sup> प्रबलतर<sup>2</sup> रविद्योतचञ्चत्प्रकाश-  
स्फूर्जत्सप्ताब्धिपारेष्वविरतविजयप्राप्तलक्ष्मीचयेषु ।  
विद्वत्पाण्डित्यगोष्ठीरसिकरसलसत्त्वान्तदेशेष्वनन्ताः  
कामं कामार्थदानप्रकटितमतयः<sup>3</sup> स्वाशिषः सन्तु नित्याः ॥ ७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदुदारसङ्गरवलद्<sup>4</sup> युद्धप्रचण्डोद्भट<sup>5</sup>  
व्यूहव्यालविमर्दनैक<sup>6</sup> गरुडेष्वाणन्दपूर्णेष्वलम्<sup>7</sup> ।  
दन्तक्रान्त<sup>8</sup> हरिचृणार्त<sup>9</sup> नृपति<sup>10</sup> व्यामोहविध्वंसके-  
ष्वातन्वन्तु धनस्य कोशनिकरान्नित्यं भवन्त्वाशिषः<sup>11</sup> ॥ ८ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीखङ्गमात्रप्रकट<sup>12</sup> सहचरप्रातदिकृचक्रचक्रे<sup>13</sup>  
ष्वाधीनानाद्धरेशेष्वमरसमसदाचारनिष्ठेष्वनन्ताः ।  
प्रोद्दण्डारातिखण्डा<sup>14</sup> करणगलदसृक्तोपितोद्दामशम्भु-<sup>15</sup>  
ष्वाणन्दादा भवन्तु प्रबलतरवलेष्वाशिषां राशयो नः ॥ ९ ॥

## iv. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

श्रीमद्रामपदारविन्दयुगलध्यानेन शं<sup>16</sup> वर्तते<sup>17</sup>  
भावत्कं प्रतिवासरं गुणनिधे वाञ्छामि चानामयस्<sup>18</sup>  
यच्छ्रुत्वा<sup>19</sup> परमङ्गलं सुखमयं प्राप्नोति चेतः फलं  
चिन्ता दूरतरं प्रयाति नितरां दुःखप्रदा सत्वरम् ॥ १ ॥

1. Three syllables missing in the Mss., tentatively supplied.
2. A<sub>2</sub> commences again after the gap. 3. A<sub>3</sub> नतयः
4. A चलद् ; B<sub>1</sub> वला ; B<sub>2-4</sub> वलाः 5. A<sub>1</sub> प्रकाण्डोद्भट
6. A<sub>1</sub> विमर्दनैक ; A<sub>2</sub> विमर्दनार्थ
7. B<sub>2</sub> gap indicated for ष्वानन्दपूर्णे ; B<sub>4</sub> ष्वानन्ददत्तेष्वलम्
8. A<sub>1</sub> दत्तक्रान्त ; A<sub>2</sub> B दत्तक्रान्त 9. A<sub>2-3</sub> B हरिस्तृषार्त
10. A<sub>2-3</sub> B नरप for नृपति 11. A<sub>2</sub> भवत्स्वाशिषः
12. A<sub>1</sub> om. प्रकट
13. Some Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> ष्वाधीष्ठाधीनानद्धरे ; A<sub>2</sub> ष्ठाधीनान्यद्धरे ;  
A<sub>3</sub> ष्वाधीन्यान्युद्धरे
14. A<sub>3</sub> षण्डा for खण्डा 15. A<sub>1</sub> corrupt : शंशे
16. B सं for शं 17. B<sub>4</sub> वर्धते
18. A<sub>2</sub> वोऽनामयम् 19. A<sub>2</sub> यं श्रुत्वा



क्षत्रियविषये कुशललेखनप्रकारः

विद्वच्चैत्यनिवासिदीर्घविलसद्धारिद्रयविद्रावणाज्  
ज्ञानध्वान्तरवेः सभागुणगण<sup>1</sup>ग्राम्याभिरामाखिलम् ।  
युष्मद्देशमनामयं प्रतिदिनं सम्यक् समीहामहे  
स्फूर्जद्घूर्जटिसेवनेन निभृतं भव्यं ममास्ते<sup>2</sup> सदा ॥ २ ॥

नित्यमेवाभिवाञ्छामि भवदीयमनामयम् ।  
अत्रास्ति भवतां दीर्घकृपया स्नेहपालक !<sup>3</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

अनामयं वरीवर्द्धमानमत्रास्त्यनव्ययम् ।  
नित्यं तथैव सुखदमहमाशास्महे वरम्<sup>4</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

भवतामनामयं सत्यमिहे हृदयसौख्यदम्<sup>5</sup> ।  
यदत्रत्यं घनीकर्तुं<sup>6</sup> सदैवोदयति भुवम् ॥ ५ ॥

नित्यमत्र वरीवर्ति भवदीयमुपास्महे ।  
सर्वदानामयं राजन् दुःखध्वान्तविनाशनम्<sup>7</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

v. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

<sup>8</sup>बहु पत्रं मया तत्र प्रेषितं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।  
तदुत्तरकरं भव्यं<sup>9</sup> भावत्कं नागतं कथम् ॥ १ ॥

- 
1. A<sub>1</sub> ज्ञानध्वान्तविनाशनामुनिगणा ; A<sub>2</sub> ज्ञानध्वान्तरवीशभागुणगण
  2. B<sub>1</sub> समास्ते ; B<sub>2</sub> ममास्ते, with the meaning स्वे=धने given in the margin.
  3. A<sub>2</sub> पालकम् ; B<sub>2,3,4</sub> पालकः
  4. A<sub>2</sub> वयम्
  5. A<sub>1</sub> reads the line : भवतां पत्रं समीहेऽहं सर्वसौख्यप्रवर्धनम् ।
  6. Mss. vary : A<sub>1</sub> त्यघनीकर्तुं ; A<sub>3</sub> त्यधनीकर्तुं ; B<sub>1,2,3</sub> त्यवनीकर्तुं
  7. A<sub>1</sub> निवारणम् ; A<sub>2</sub> ध्वान्तारिकाशनम् ; A<sub>3</sub> विकाशनम् (?)
  8. A<sub>2,3</sub> have an additional verse before this :  
वृत्ताक्षरघनश्यामं चारु पत्रं सुखाकरम् ।  
चेतोमयूरमुत्सान्द्रं नागतं किमु कारणम् ॥
  9. A<sub>2</sub> भाव्यं



भवद्विरहचण्डांशुप्रतप्तं मन्मनः परम् ।  
तत्रत्य<sup>१</sup>पत्रसंयोगाद् दुःखं मुञ्चति नान्यथा ॥ २ ॥  
पत्रमाश्लेषसुखदं<sup>२</sup> भवदीयमसंशयम् ।  
तल्लिखित्वा स्वहस्तेन प्रेष्यते न कथं सखे<sup>३</sup> ॥ ३ ॥  
यावन्नायाति तत्रत्यं पत्रं<sup>४</sup> स्नेहमयाक्षरम् ।  
प्रदीपकलिकाकारं मन्दं जीवः प्रकाशते<sup>५</sup> ॥ ४ ॥  
लेखनीयं सदा पत्रं स्मरणीय अयं जनः ।  
मञ्चेतसि<sup>६</sup> यथासौख्यमव्ययं भवति ध्रुवम्<sup>७</sup> ॥ ५ ॥  
श्रीमदीयसमाचारयुक्ते पत्रे समागते ।  
हृदयाद् दुःखसङ्घानां नाशः सञ्जायते ध्रुवम् ॥ ६ ॥

॥ इति क्षत्रियविषयः ॥

1. A<sub>3</sub> तत्रत्यं

3. A<sub>1</sub> न सखे कथम्

5. A<sub>3</sub> कारमन्दजीवप्रकाशनम्

7. B, C तथा

2. A शुभदं

4. B<sub>2</sub> तत्रत्यपत्रं ; B<sub>3</sub> ति त्वत्पत्रं तं च

6. B, C म for त

8. A द्रुतम्



## IV. अथ वैश्यविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तयः

<sup>1</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमद्-<sup>2</sup>विद्वज्जनविचार्यमाण-मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यापस्तम्बादि-सकलमुनि-  
गणवदन<sup>3</sup>कमलोद्गीर्ण - सच्छास्त्रनिर्णीत<sup>4</sup>-धर्माचरित<sup>5</sup>लब्ध-प्रतिष्ठागरिष्ठेषु,<sup>6</sup> - सुर-  
नरगन्धर्वार्वखर्वाद्य<sup>7</sup>कार्यनिष्पादन<sup>8</sup>समर्थ - सद्धेनु<sup>9</sup>रक्षणपरायण - साध्वीडित<sup>10</sup> - चरण-  
पीठेषु, शान्त<sup>11</sup>प्रकृति-सुजनगण<sup>12</sup> विचारविज्ञतमप्रार्थित<sup>13</sup> - नित्यान्यसमीहित-दान-  
प्रकटित<sup>14</sup>-यशःपूरमहोर्मिषु ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्-विविधवैदग्ध्यविहित-वाणिज्यवृत्त्युपार्जित-धनातिशयदान-  
विशदकीर्तिचन्द्र<sup>15</sup>प्रकाश<sup>16</sup>प्रकाशिताखिलदिङ्मण्डलेषु, सद्बचनसम्भाषण-वशी-<sup>17</sup>  
कृत-जगत्त्रय<sup>18</sup>निवासि-भूरिश्रेष्ठिक<sup>19</sup>समूह-स्तूयमान-सन्मान<sup>20</sup>समाजेषु, नवीन-  
माहार्घ्यतर<sup>21</sup> - विविधरत्नश्रेणी <sup>22</sup>सञ्जटित - कलधौतमयघटित - भव्य<sup>23</sup>भूषणावलि -  
<sup>24</sup>विभूषित-निजकुटुम्बचयेषु ॥ २ ॥

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. B <sub>4</sub> transfers here the first component of the next <i>Praśasti</i> , viz., स्वस्ति to मण्डलेषु | 2. B <sub>1</sub> om. विद्वत्                             |
| 3. A <sub>2</sub> चरण for वदन  | 4. B <sub>2,3</sub> स्त्रनिजचरित                          |
| 5. A. B <sub>1,4,5</sub> धर्माचरण  | 6. A <sub>2,3</sub> गरिष्ठवरिष्ठेषु                       |
| 7. A om. य   | 8. B <sub>4</sub> om. न                                   |
| 9. B <sub>4</sub> साधन for सद्धेनु   | 10. A <sub>1</sub> साध्वीडित ; A <sub>2</sub> साध्वीज्ञित |
| 11. A <sub>1</sub> शान्ति  |   |
| 12. A <sub>2</sub> B <sub>1,4,5</sub> जन for गण ; A <sub>3</sub> B <sub>2,3</sub> om. गण                     |   |
| 13. A <sub>1</sub> विज्ञातमनःप्रार्थित ; B <sub>4</sub> विज्ञातमर्थित ;                                      | 14. A <sub>1</sub> प्रकाशित                               |
| 15. B <sub>4</sub> चन्द्रकीर्ति for कीर्तिचन्द्र   | 16. B <sub>4</sub> om. प्रकाश                             |
| 17. B <sub>2,5</sub> om. वशी   | 18. A जगत्त्रितय  |
| 19. A <sub>1</sub> श्रेष्ठक  | 20. A <sub>1,3</sub> add स here.                          |
| 21. A <sub>1</sub> मनर्थतर ; B <sub>1</sub> मार्घ्यतर  | 22. B <sub>4</sub> om. सं                                 |
| 23. A <sub>3</sub> om. भव्य ; B <sub>2,3</sub> add वि  | 24. A <sub>1,3</sub> B <sub>1,2,5</sub> om. वि            |



स्वस्ति श्रीमद्<sup>1</sup>वृषभ-बीज-बालक-वसति-व्यय-बुद्धि-बाल<sup>2</sup>-वचन<sup>3</sup>-रत<sup>4</sup>-वृष्टि<sup>5</sup>-  
बन्धु<sup>6</sup>-वर्द्धक-द्वादशविधान<sup>7</sup> - विधीयमानानवरत-कृषिसमुत्पन्न - नानाविध - स्वाद्वन्न -  
निर्मितानेकपक्वान्न<sup>8</sup>-भोजनसन्तोषित-धरणिदेवसमूहेषु, चन्दनागरु<sup>9</sup>कुङ्कुमशशि-  
मृगमदादि - सुगन्धलेपनाह्लाद - मेदुरान्तःकरण - सेवावशीकृत - विद्वज्जनाशीर्वचन -  
समेधित-समस्तसुखेषु, नियतबहुदक्षिणादान<sup>10</sup>-सम्मानविधानदत्त<sup>11</sup>-सत्साधु-<sup>12</sup>  
सन्मण्डली<sup>13</sup>विराजमान-सभासदवर्याभिवन्दितारुण<sup>14</sup>चरणयुगल<sup>15</sup>सरोजेषु<sup>16</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

<sup>17</sup>स्वस्ति <sup>18</sup>श्रीमद्विधोद्यमानीत-गजरथतुरग<sup>19</sup>-सुवर्णलसद्वसन<sup>20</sup>-सद्वस्त-  
कूप्रादि<sup>21</sup>-रचितपात्र-रजतजाम्बूनदरत्नसञ्चयकृत - व्यापारलभ्यमान<sup>22</sup> - वर्द्धितद्रव्या -  
चरित-महोत्सवानन्दानुभव-विलाससुखज्ञेषु,<sup>23</sup> चञ्चत्परमदुष्कर-तपःप्रतापप्रद्योतित-  
सहस्रांशुसमास्य - द्विजवरसकलतीर्थास्पद - चरणसरोजप्रक्षालन-गलज्जल<sup>24</sup>प्रपूरपवित्री-

1. A B<sub>1-4-6</sub> add here वृहद्
2. A<sub>1</sub> om. बाल ; B<sub>4</sub> बलवत्
3. B<sub>4</sub> चरण for वचन
4. A<sub>3</sub> B<sub>4</sub> तर for रत
5. A<sub>2</sub> वृद्धि for वृष्टि
6. A<sub>1</sub> वत्सु for बन्धु, corrupt.
7. Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> वर्धकविधिधा (? द्वा) दशवर्षविधान ; A<sub>2</sub> वर्धकविधिद्वादशव (?)-  
विधान ; A<sub>3</sub> वर्धकविधिद्वादशवल ; B<sub>1</sub> वर्धकविधिद्वादशविधान ।
8. B<sub>1</sub> om. निर्मितानेकपक्वान्न
9. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>4</sub> अगुरु
10. A. B<sub>3</sub> om. दान
11. A<sub>1</sub> दत्त for दक्ष
12. B Mss. corrupt : दक्षसत्सु । साधु ; A<sub>1</sub> om. सन् following.
13. A<sub>1</sub> मण्डल for मण्डली
14. A<sub>1</sub> सभासद्विन्दितारुण (corrupt).
15. A<sub>3</sub> युग for युगल
16. B<sub>4</sub> सहस्रेषु. A<sub>1</sub> has an extra verse after this :

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनेकपत्ररचितव्यापारसंवर्द्धित-  
स्वर्णव्यूहकृतप्रदाननियतश्रीकीर्तिवृद्धेष्वालम् ।

स्नेहोद्भासि-चितवृत्तिलसद्गोष्ठीरसज्ञेष्वावतः

स्फूर्जन्त्वाशिषराशयः प्रतिदिनं सत्याः शुभाः कामदाः ॥

17. B om. this *Praśasti*.
18. A<sub>1</sub> adds श्रीकमलाकटाक्षावलोकनसमेधितसगुण
19. A<sub>1-3</sub> तुरङ्ग
20. A<sub>4</sub> लसद्वस्तत (corrupt).
21. Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> कूर्पादि ; A<sub>2</sub> कूपादि
22. A<sub>1</sub> लक्ष्यमाण
23. A<sub>1</sub> सुखजेषु
24. A<sub>1-4</sub> om. प्र



कृत-निजनिवास-सहित-गोत्रोद्भवेषु, अनेकविध-दरिद्रदुःखदूषित-भिक्षुभर-समाजाधि-  
गुरुगिरि-समुत्पाटनक्षम-महाजनसमाज<sup>1</sup>कुमुदकुलो<sup>2</sup>ल्लासन-शरन्नशाकरेषु ॥ ४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुखद-धरणिमण्डलगतानेक-भूपालमौलिमुकुट<sup>3</sup>-मञ्जरीसम-  
भिवादित<sup>4</sup>चरणसरोज-सर्वसुखनिवास<sup>5</sup>-सुरत्राण<sup>6</sup>-द्रव्य<sup>7</sup>कार्यनिर्वाहनसमर्थ-धन-  
दातिशय<sup>8</sup>पराक्रमेषु, सकलमनोभिलाषेरित-विद्वद्वृन्दसमाधान<sup>9</sup>करणोत्साहोत्क-  
ण्ठित<sup>10</sup>-हृदयानन्द<sup>11</sup>सन्दोहानन्दित-पुत्राद्यति<sup>12</sup>प्रियतमात्मीय<sup>13</sup>परिजनव्यूहेषु,<sup>14</sup>नियत-  
सद्विधिपूर्वाष्टादशपुराणश्रवणोपलभ्यमान<sup>15</sup>-धर्म<sup>16</sup>ज्ञानाब्जनप्रकाशित<sup>17</sup>-नयनतेजः-  
परमेश्वर-समीहादृष्ट<sup>18</sup>द्विजोपासन-विलग्नप्रकृतिषु<sup>19</sup> ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>20</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलनिगमप्रतिपादित-हृदयतमःपुञ्जमार्तण्ड-सद्गुरुवदन-  
सरोजविनिःसृत-धर्ममयवचनपरागप्रदर्शित-सन्मार्गाचरण-भक्तिपवित्रीकृतमानसेषु,  
परममेध्य-दर्शनस्पर्शनप्रतिपालनार्हगोरक्षण-रक्षितानेक-बलवत्तरनरमनोरथ-परिपूरण-  
करण-कल्पतरुसमानेषु, धनजनकलवचन<sup>21</sup>बुद्धि-धनपुत्रभवनग्रामवाटिकातडागवापी-  
कूप-नियतान्नदान-भोजनवसनाभूषण-सन्मानसान्तस्वभाव-नम्रत्वव्यापार<sup>22</sup>-गज-  
रत्नादि-सुगन्धसद्वचनविहित-परोपकारेषु ॥ ६ ॥

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> समास   | 2. A <sub>2</sub> समाजमुकुलो                             |
| 3. A adds here रत्न  | 4. A <sub>1</sub> वन्दित                                 |
| 5. B <sub>1-3-5</sub> सर्वदुःखनिवास ; B <sub>4</sub> स्वर्गद   | 6. B <sub>4</sub> सरण for सुरत्राण                       |
| 7. B <sub>1-4</sub> दिव्य  | 8. B <sub>1-4</sub> धनदानातिशय                           |
| 9. B <sub>4</sub> समान   | 10. A <sub>1</sub> होत्कटित ; A <sub>3</sub> होत्कुण्ठित |
| 11. B <sub>1-3</sub> हृदयानन्दि  | 12. B <sub>4</sub> पुत्राद्यपरि                          |
| 13. A <sub>4</sub> प्रियात्मीय   | 14. A <sub>1-3</sub> परिजनेषु                            |
| 15. B <sub>1-2-4</sub> om. मान   | 16. A <sub>1-3</sub> धर्माधर्म                           |
| 17. A <sub>1</sub> जने दर्शित (corrupt)  | 18. A <sub>1</sub> समीदृष्ट ; A <sub>2</sub> समादृष्ट    |
| 19. A <sub>1</sub> प्रतिकृतिषु ; B <sub>2</sub> प्रतिषु  | 20. B om. this <i>Praśasti</i> .                         |
| 21. A <sub>1-3</sub> बलवन । A <sub>3</sub> one folio, containing the portion बुद्धि to स्वति श्रीचा (p. 29, verse 2) lost. |  |
| 22. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : नम्रत्वव्याघाचरण  |  |



स्वस्ति श्रीसकल<sup>१</sup>विप्रचरणलीन-मनोरथैक<sup>२</sup>पूरण-कल्पवृक्षेषु, गुणि-  
गणाभिलाष-फलप्रद<sup>३</sup>-चिन्तामणिषु, सद्धर्मरतिप्रतिष्ठाजीवनोत्पन्न-वैश्यकुलकमल-  
मार्तण्डेषु, सदाचार-विचार<sup>४</sup>-विशदान्तःकरण-मनुषु, परोपकारकृत-कनकवृष्टि-  
महद्वारिधरेषु,<sup>५</sup> गाम्भीर्यवृहत्त्वपूर्णान्तःस्थापितरत्नौघ-समुद्रेषु, निजाश्रयरक्षितानेक-  
(नि)र्धनसमूह-सिद्धेषु,<sup>६</sup> कनकसंखचित-भवनपरिजन<sup>७</sup>-सुमेरुषु, परमपरमाभिजित-  
रतिरमणेषु, धनातिशयकोश<sup>८</sup>-लघुतरीकृत-धनदेषु, विदग्धवर-सभासद-कुमुद<sup>१०</sup>-  
वनविलासकारक-त्रियामिनीशेषु, बहुधनविहित-व्यापार-दासीकृत-समस्तधराधिपेषु,  
आ पयोनिधि<sup>११</sup>स्थापितयूपेषु, सेवक<sup>१२</sup>ज्ञापित-<sup>१३</sup>समाचारसमानी<sup>१४</sup>विहित-सुरत्राणेषु,  
श्रवणादि-नवभक्तिभावेडित<sup>१५</sup>-परमेश्वर-नारदतुल्येषु, कृतसितान्नपरितोषित-  
द्विजातिजातिषु,<sup>१६</sup> सत्यभाषणरसरसिक-युधिष्ठिरेषु, परार्थसम्पादितशरीर-दधीचिषु,<sup>१७</sup>  
सुवर्णसुवर्णेषु, रत्नाकररत्नाकरेषु,<sup>१८</sup> श्रीखण्डशीतल<sup>१९</sup>श्रीखण्डेषु, पवित्रपवित्रेषु,  
शृङ्गारसशृङ्गाररसेषु, स्वीयवैदग्ध्यविमुखीकृत<sup>२०</sup>-समस्तमनुजशारदेषु, परार्द्धपरि-  
मिताङ्क-सागरपारदेषु, तीर्थविहित-कनकरजतमौक्तिकमाणिक्यतुलातोषितानेक-  
भिद्व्युद्गेषु, अप्राप्तिस्थलगमनवैराग्येषु ॥ ७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखण्ड-धरणीमण्डलाखण्डलसमान-सामन्तगणानङ्गसङ्ग-  
लसदनेक-कुमारोपसेवितद्वारदशेषु, विविधषड्रस<sup>२१</sup>रचित<sup>२२</sup>-मोदकादिभोजनप्रपोषित-<sup>२३</sup>

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. B om. this <i>Praśasti</i> .            | 2. A <sub>2</sub> विप्रमण्डलिमनो                                  |
| 3. A <sub>1</sub> adds परि                 | 4. A <sub>1</sub> फलद for फलप्रद                                  |
| 5. A <sub>1</sub> om. विचार                | 6. A <sub>1</sub> धारेषु  |
| 7. A <sub>1</sub> om. निजाश्रय to सिद्धेषु | 8. A <sub>1</sub> भवनजन   |
| 9. A <sub>1</sub> धनातिशयकोश               | 10. A <sub>2</sub> om कुमुद                                       |
| 11. A <sub>1</sub> आपोनिधि                 | 12. A <sub>1</sub> स्थापितसुसेवक                                  |
| 13. A <sub>1</sub> adds सु                 | 14. A <sub>1</sub> समानि  |
| 15. A <sub>1</sub> भावेज्जित               | 16. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt, द्विजातिपपीतिषु                       |
| 17. A <sub>2</sub> दधीचेषु                 | 18. A <sub>1</sub> transfers this to before कृत, two lines above. |
| 19. A <sub>2</sub> तल for शीतल             |   |
| 20. A <sub>2</sub> विभूढीकृत               | 21. A रसा for रस  |
| 22. A B <sub>2,3,4</sub> रसित              | 23. A. B. प्रयोजित  |



समस्तपरिजन-गीयमान<sup>1</sup>-यश-प्रकाशितागणित-गुणगणेषु, स्वक्रान्तिनिर्जित-सुरनर-  
गन्धर्वोरगाङ्गनाचय<sup>2</sup>-सुवासिनीमय-भवनसुख-प्रोत्फुल्लान्तःकरणावमानित - सुरेन्द्र -<sup>3</sup>  
निवासादि-सकलसल्लोकेषु ॥ ८ ॥

## ii. पद्यप्रशस्तयः

‘स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महाबुद्धि<sup>5</sup>समुपार्जितकीर्तिषु ।

<sup>6</sup>ममाशीर्वचनं भूयाद्रामभक्तिरतेष्वलम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीचारु<sup>7</sup>चातुर्यचयीकृत<sup>8</sup>धनेष्वितः<sup>9</sup> ।

स्फुरन्तु शतशो नित्यमाशिषां राशयः शुभाः ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीकृष्णगोरक्ष<sup>10</sup>विधानचतुरेष्वहम् ।

ददामि धनपुत्रायुष्<sup>11</sup>करीः स्वाशीः<sup>12</sup> सहस्रशः<sup>13</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

<sup>14</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीभूमिदेवाज्ञाविधिना<sup>15</sup> विधिवत्सु मे ।

विलसन्त्वाशिषः सत्याः सद्व्यापारविनोदिषु<sup>16</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

- 
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. A <sub>2</sub> जेगीयमान   | 2. B <sub>2</sub> नानां चय                 |
| 3. B <sub>4</sub> सुर for सुरेन्द्र  |  |
| 4. B <sub>6</sub> drops all the verses and commences with the prose <i>Prasastis</i> of the Śūdra section. |  |
| 5. A <sub>3</sub> विद्या for बुद्धि ; A <sub>1</sub> om. the word.   | 6. A समा <sup>0</sup>                      |
| 7. A <sub>3</sub> commences again after the gap.   |  |
| 8. A <sub>1</sub> वशीकृत ; A <sub>2</sub> व्ययीकृत   | 9. B <sub>4</sub> धनेष्वलम्                |
| 10. A <sub>1</sub> गोरक्ष्य ; A <sub>2</sub> गोरक्ष  | 11. A <sub>1</sub> ददामि च धनं पुत्राः (?) |
| 12. A <sub>1</sub> कारोः स्वाशीः ; A <sub>2</sub> करीश्वाशीः   | 13. A <sub>2</sub> ततीः किल for सहस्रशः    |
| 14. B <sub>4</sub> om. the verse.  | 15. A विधान                                |
| 16. B <sub>1,2,4</sub> व्यापारस्य वेदिषु   |  |



स्वस्ति श्रीमद्वनागारदानोपार्जितकीर्तिषु ।  
स्फुरन्तु प्रीतिसहिताश्चञ्चारुशुभाशिषः ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>1</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीरामपादाब्जपरिचर्याविलासिषु ।  
आशिषां राशयो नित्यं भवन्तु सुखकारकाः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखण्डभूमिवलयप्रोद्दण्डदेशान्तर-<sup>3</sup>  
स्थानारब्ध<sup>4</sup>धनावलीढभवनव्यापारचित्तेष्वलम्<sup>5</sup> ।  
स्फूर्जद्बुद्धिविनोदवञ्चित<sup>6</sup>नरेष्वा<sup>7</sup>विर्भवन्त्वाशिष-<sup>8</sup>  
श्चञ्चारुमनोरथेन विहिताः सत्यार्थवाक्येष्वितः ॥ ७ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनाभिरामतनुषु व्यापारसंवर्द्धित-  
द्रव्याकारितवाटिकाफलचयैर्नरैस्तडागोत्थितैः ।  
विप्रव्यूहनिषेवणोत्सुकतरेष्वेताः स्फुरन्त्वाशिषः<sup>9</sup>  
पुत्रायुर्धनसत्यमङ्गलमयाः कामं तपोभिः<sup>10</sup> कृताः ॥ ८ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्पुराणश्रवणसुखरसास्वादविद्वर्यमुख्ये-  
ष्वानन्दादार्त<sup>11</sup>दुःखप्रहरण<sup>12</sup>वचनेष्वादरात् कोटिशस्ते<sup>13</sup> ।  
नित्यं दानाम्बुधारा<sup>14</sup>विदलितबडवद्रोहिदारिद्र्यजाले-  
ष्वाविर्भूयुः<sup>15</sup> समन्ता<sup>16</sup>न्निगमपथचराः स्वाशिषां राशयो मे ॥ ९ ॥

- 
1. B<sub>3</sub> om. the verse.
  2. A कारिकाः
  3. A<sub>2,5</sub> देशोत्तर
  4. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>4</sub> लब्ध
  5. A<sub>1,3</sub> B<sub>3</sub> चित्तेष्वलम्
  6. A<sub>1</sub> चञ्चित ; A<sub>2</sub> निश्चित
  7. A<sub>2</sub> पदेषु
  8. A<sub>2</sub> भवित्वाशिष ; A<sub>3</sub> B<sub>4</sub> भवत्याशिष ; B<sub>1</sub> भवन्त्याशिष
  9. B<sub>2</sub> भवन्त्याशिषः
  10. B<sub>4</sub> मनोभिः
  11. A<sub>1</sub> has an extra रोग; possibly the meaning of आर्त, given in the margin of the archetype of A<sub>1</sub>, has been taken into the body of A<sub>1</sub> when it was transcribed.
  12. A<sub>2</sub> प्रकरण
  13. A<sub>3</sub> कोटिशस्तेः
  14. A<sub>1</sub> धाराद्
  15. भूयुः (ungrammatical) for भूयासुः, due to metrical exigency.
  16. A<sub>1</sub> समस्ता



## iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

चञ्चत्पुण्यसमुद्भवं सुखमिह स्वाभाविकं वर्तते  
 तत्रत्यं प्रतिवासरं गुणनिधे वाञ्छामि सद्बर्द्धितम्<sup>1</sup> ।  
 येनान्तःकरणस्य<sup>2</sup> दुःखकरणी चिन्ता<sup>3</sup> प्रयाति द्रुतं  
 विद्वद्वृन्दविनोदमेदुरमनःसन्तोषदानाग्रणीः ॥ १ ॥

नानाबुद्धिविचारवर्द्धितधनप्रारब्धविप्रार्चनम्<sup>4</sup> !  
 ज्ञानाज्ञान<sup>5</sup>परार्थसाधनमते साधूत्तम ! स्नेहतः ।  
 तत्रत्यं<sup>7</sup> सुखमद्भुतं प्रतिदिनं सम्यक्समीहेतरां  
 श्रीगङ्गागिरिजागणेशकृपया तच्चात्र वै वर्तते ॥ २ ॥

सुखमत्र<sup>8</sup> वरीवर्ति वस्तदाशास्महेतराम् ।  
 येनान्तर्मोदमायाति<sup>9</sup> सर्वदुःखविनाशनम् ॥ ३ ॥

सुखं तत्रत्यमेवाहं<sup>10</sup> वर्द्धमानं दिने दिने ।  
 वाञ्छामि सुखसंसिद्धयै तदत्रापि च वर्तते ॥ ४ ॥

श्रीमदीयं सुखं भूरि समीहेऽहर्निशि रविम् ।  
 यदन्तःकमलं दिव्यमुत्फुल्लयति सत्त्वरम् ॥ ५ ॥

## iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

कथं न लिखितं पत्रमन्तर्वृत्तिनिवेदकम्<sup>11</sup> ।  
 सैवास्ति हृदये चिन्ता<sup>12</sup> चित्रं मित्र ! विचार्यते ॥ १ ॥

- 
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> वर्धित ; B <sub>3</sub> वर्धिताम्  |   |
| 2. A करणस्थ  | 3. A <sub>1</sub> चिन्ता                |
| 4. A <sub>1.3</sub> प्रारम्भ   | 5. B <sub>4</sub> ना                    |
| 6. B <sub>1.4</sub> ज्ञानाज्ञात  | 7. B <sub>1</sub> अत्रत्यं              |
| 8. B <sub>1</sub> सुखं चैव ; B <sub>2.3.4</sub> सुखं चेह                                     | 9. A <sub>2</sub> माप्नोति              |
| 10. B <sub>4</sub> (अ)र्ह  | 11. B <sub>4</sub> मन्तर्निवृत्तिवेदकम् |
| 12. A <sub>1</sub> चित्तं ; A <sub>2</sub> चित्रमित्रं ; B <sub>1.3</sub> चिन्तामित्रं मित्र |   |



ममास्ति हृदये गुल्मं तव विश्लेषसम्भवम् ।  
वैद्यं वृत्तमयं<sup>1</sup> पत्रं कथं न प्रेष्यतेऽधुना ॥ २ ॥

लिख्यते न कथं<sup>2</sup> पत्रं चेतश्चिन्ताचयापहम् ।  
सन्तोषसुखदं भव्यवर्णं<sup>3</sup> वृत्तान्तसंयुतम् ॥ ३ ॥

विरहोरगदष्टस्य<sup>4</sup> मच्चित्तस्य मुर्मूषतः<sup>5</sup> ।  
भवद्वर्णाङ्कितस्त्वेकः पत्ररूपो हि गारुडिः ॥ ४ ॥

यत्र छन्दांसि रत्नानि<sup>6</sup> सद्वाक्यममृतं जलम् ।  
स्नेहश्चिन्तामणिस्तस्मिन् मनो मे पत्रसागरे ॥ ५ ॥

पत्रं सद्भिः सदा लेख्यमाश्लेषसुखदायकम् ।  
प्रेष्यते भवता नात्र<sup>7</sup> किमित्येवं विचार्यते ॥ ६ ॥

यदैवायाति तत्रत्यं पत्रं<sup>10</sup> प्रीतिविवर्द्धनम् ।  
हृदयस्थं तदा दुःखं नाशमाप्नोति<sup>11</sup> सत्वरम् ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति वैश्यविषयः ॥

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. A <sub>1</sub> B <sub>3-5</sub> वृत्तमिदं                  | 2. A <sub>1</sub> त्वया for कथं        |
| 3. A <sub>1</sub> वर्ण ; A <sub>2</sub> सन्तोषदं भव्यवर्णनिज- | 4. A <sub>1</sub> विरहेणावदष्टस्य      |
| 5. A <sub>1</sub> मुर्मूषतः                                   | 6. B <sub>4</sub> पत्ररत्नानि छन्दांसि |
| 7. A <sub>1</sub> त्वं हि for स्नेहः                          | 8. A <sub>1</sub> मनोपत्रं च सागरे     |
| 9. A <sub>1</sub> तन्न for नात्र                              | 10. B <sub>1-2</sub> तत्पत्रं पत्रं    |
| 11. B <sub>1-4</sub> मायाति                                   |  |



## V. अथ शूद्रविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलगदविनाशक<sup>1</sup>-बलप्रकाशक-शरीरशासक-ललामकरपरम-  
सुखग्राम<sup>2</sup>नियत-विहितव्यायामशिक्षिततावयव - पराक्रमसेव्यमानद्विजेतरप्रसादलब्ध -  
धनसन्तोषित-भूसुरसमूहेषु, मिष्टस्वादुजलफलमूलकन्दानयन-दिव्यवचनोपसेवित-<sup>3</sup>  
तपःशीलाशीर्वचन-परिवर्द्धित-पुत्रादिसमाह्लाद-मेदुरीभूतचित्तेषु, 'सत्सेवा-  
करणोत्साहप्रेरित - प्रियतमकलत्रपरिजन<sup>4</sup>गण-गुणस्तवनरत-स्वज्ञातिचयेधित<sup>5</sup>-प्रतिष्ठा-  
गरिष्ठवरिष्ठेषु<sup>7</sup> ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्त्रिवर्गसाधनानुरक्तः<sup>8</sup>-सद्बिचार-<sup>9</sup>कृतदान-यशःप्रकाश-प्रकाशित-  
दिङ्मण्डलेषु, सद्बचनातिविमर्श-<sup>10</sup>लेखनप्रकारविजित-चित्रगुप्ताद्यङ्को<sup>11</sup>दध्युल्लङ्घन -  
समर्थेषु, परोपकार-सम्भृत<sup>12</sup>-धनमोदमुदितान्तःकरणावकल्पित<sup>13</sup>-सकलस्वज्ञाति-  
वरेषु ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीनिजचातुर्य-सेवनवशीकृत-समस्तसामन्त-मनोभिलषितविधान-  
साधितानेकधनागारेषु, सकलजगदुपास्य-चरणकमलद्वन्द्व-परमेश्वरसमानविप्रवर्गेषु,  
परमपावनतम - महापातकघ्न - द्विजोच्छिष्ट - परिपोषिता<sup>14</sup>खिलगोत्रोद्भव<sup>15</sup>-कुटुम्बि-  
जनेषु ॥ ३ ॥

1. A<sub>3</sub> om. गदविनाशक ; B<sub>1.2.3.5</sub> om. बल and B<sub>4</sub> बलप्रकाशक, following.

2. A<sub>1</sub> om. नियत to स्वादुजल, next line.

3. A<sub>1</sub> वचनसेवित

4. A<sub>2</sub> भवत् for सत्

5. A<sub>1</sub> प्रियजन for परिजन

6. B<sub>4</sub> चयेधित

7. B<sub>1.4.5</sub> प्रतिष्ठागरिष्ठेषु

8. A त्रिवर्गसेवन-त्रिवर्गसाधनानुरक्तचेतः

9. B<sub>4</sub> om. कृत

10. A<sub>1.3</sub> B<sub>4</sub> लिखन for लेखन

11. Some Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> गुप्ताव्यङ्को ; A<sub>2</sub> गुप्ताद्यङ्को ; B<sub>3</sub> गुप्ताद्यमो ; B<sub>4</sub> गुप्ताद्यको

12. A<sub>1</sub> शोभित ; B<sub>3</sub> मोदित

13. A B<sub>2.3</sub> गणित for कल्पित

14. A<sub>1.3</sub> तोषिता

15. B<sub>1.2.4</sub> गात्रोद्भव



स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलस्वधर्मा<sup>1</sup>चरणविख्यात<sup>2</sup>-सत्कीर्तिप्रचारित-नामाहूतभिन्नु-  
जनाभिलाष<sup>3</sup>पूरण-कृतार्थीकृत<sup>4</sup>-निजमनुष्यावतारेषु, गुरुजनपरिचर्यापरायणविदित<sup>5</sup>-  
गोविप्रनारायणगुणानुवाद - गायनश्रवणविषयीविहित - रामायण<sup>6</sup> - दान्त<sup>7</sup>साधित -  
दक्षिणोत्तरायणसमय<sup>8</sup>-प्रतिष्ठा<sup>9</sup>सागरेषु<sup>10</sup>, परेङ्गितज्ञान<sup>11</sup>चतुर<sup>12</sup>-सदोदण्ड-मौलि<sup>13</sup>-  
विराजित<sup>14</sup>-वरमुकुटरत्नराजिमण्डित-महार्घ्य<sup>15</sup>तर-मरकतमणि-मरीचिचयचुम्बित<sup>16</sup>-  
पीठेषु ॥ ४ ॥

<sup>17</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमत्प्रोत्फुल्लारविन्दोपमेय-विप्रास्यविनिःसृत-धर्मवनास्तिक्य-  
बुद्धिचरित-धर्मपरिपूरित-समस्तमनोरथेषु, जगदखिलभूपाल-परिचयस्नेहादेश-  
प्रमाणी<sup>18</sup>कृताधिकारोपाजित-विविधसुख-सुखसमाजोपसेवित-द्विजाशीर्वचनविश्वास-  
वर्द्धितानन्देषु, परगुणाकर्णेनैरित-रसनारसजनितातिशय-प्रीतिप्रसन्नपरमात्मप्रदत्त -  
सकलसुखाप्लावित-कृपापात्रनिजजनेषु ॥ ५ ॥

<sup>19</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नारदादिमुनिगणगीयमान-गुणगरिम-भूभारोत्तरणान्त-तनु-  
विशालरसनोपरचित - जन्मजन्मार्जित - पयोद्धरणक्षमसुख - मन्दिरमार्जनानुलेपन -  
पवित्रितात्मशरीरेषु, विविध-सुगन्धोपमर्दित<sup>20</sup>-मलयजद्रवचय-निजवाटिकाविकस-

1. A<sub>1</sub> चरण to भिलाष wrongly transposed to between विप्र and वर्गेषु in the previous *Prasasti* (p. 33, line 14).
2. A<sub>3</sub> B<sub>1</sub> विज्ञात and B<sub>4</sub> ख्यात for विख्यात
3. B<sub>1</sub> जात्यभिलाष
4. A<sub>2</sub> unindicated om. of निज to सुगन्धोपमर्दित (line 14, below).
5. B<sub>5</sub> विहित
6. A<sub>1</sub> परायण for रामायण
7. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>4</sub> दान
8. A<sub>1</sub> C<sub>2-3</sub> समय
9. A<sub>3</sub> Here, 3 folios, numbered 16, 17, 18, lost, containing the portion छा to श्रीवेद (p. 41, line 13).
10. B<sub>4</sub> प्रतिष्ठागरिष्ठेषु
11. A<sub>1</sub> adds सेवन, here.
12. B<sub>2</sub> चतुरो ; B<sub>3</sub> चतुरी
13. B<sub>1</sub> सदोमण्डलमौलि ; B<sub>2-6</sub> सदोमण्डनमौलि
14. A<sub>1</sub> विराजमान ; B<sub>1-4</sub> राजित for विराजित
15. B<sub>3</sub> र्घ for र्घ्य
16. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>1-3</sub> चुम्बित ; A adds here चरण
17. B om. the *Prasasti*.
18. A<sub>1</sub> प्रमाणी duplicated.
19. B om. the *Prasasti*.
20. A<sub>2</sub> commences again after the gap.



दमलमालतीकुसुम-समग्रथितमालिकासेवित-विष्णुभक्तिपरायणसमूहेषु, पञ्चायु-  
धाङ्कित - भक्तियुग्विप्रचरणप्रक्षालन - पुनीतजलपानपवित्रितान्तःकरणभासित - सद्धर्म -  
सत्य<sup>1</sup>भाषणोत्कण्ठितमानसेषु ॥ ६ ॥

<sup>2</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमद्धर्मनिर्णायकर्णोद्यत-चित्रगुप्तेषु, तपःसिद्ध-शङ्करसमद्विजसेवन-  
परमेधित-धनागारधनदेषु, निजसमस्तोपकरणसेविताखिल-जनान्रवृक्षेषु, वृहत्त्व-  
गम्भीरताविनिर्जित-समुद्रेषु, वचनप्रतिपालनाचल-धराधरेषु, मन्त्रविचार-विदग्ध-  
विदुरेषु, परमेश्वरप्रतिमापूजा-गुणगणपरायण-नारदेषु, निजशान्तस्वभाव-वशीकृता-  
खण्डभूमण्डलेषु, नित्यविहित-व्यायामबलेन बलवत्तरानिलेषु,<sup>3</sup> विविधसेवनोपाय-  
समस्तजनरञ्जन-व्यापकगुणावगणित-गगनतलेषु, स्वधर्मोपार्जित-यशःकीर्तिप्रतापा-  
वलि-शालित्वेषु,<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>सच्छुद्धिचमत्कृतिचुलकीकृत-जगत्त्रितय-तुच्छरचित-स्वच्छन्द-  
दर्पणेषु, कृतात्मीयतनदुःख-सदासुखद-परोपकारक्षमेक्षुदण्डेषु, दरिद्रार्तजनाव-  
लोकनार्द्र-द्रवीभूतहृदय-गङ्गा<sup>6</sup>प्रवाहेषु, <sup>7</sup>हितार्थतिरस्कृत-शीतोष्णसमय-सुवर्णसुवर्णेषु,  
<sup>8</sup>चिन्तितेष्टप्रदाननिरत-कल्पद्रुमेषु, महाप्रस्तारविमूढोक्त-नागेन्द्रपिङ्गलेषु ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>9</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निखिलनरपतिसेवनोपवर्द्धित-समाजसुखानुभवविराजमान-<sup>10</sup>  
सद्भाल<sup>11</sup>पूजित-द्विजातिगणकृत-प्रतिष्ठारत्नाकरेषु, अजामिलगणिकादि-पामरो-  
त्तारण-<sup>12</sup>भक्तजनोद्धारण-सकलाणिमाप्रभृतिसिद्धिकारण - भक्तदुःखोत्सारण - हिरण्य-  
कशीपूदरविदारण-प्रेतपिशाचचय-भयनिवारण-मुनिजन<sup>13</sup>सपर्याधारणैकदेश<sup>14</sup>-विंशता-  
धीगत-निरयनिवारण-नारायणनामस्मरण<sup>15</sup>रसास्वाद-परिपीत<sup>16</sup>मानसेषु, सदोत्सव-  
विधानाकारित-नृत्यविद्याप्रवीण-नवनटाभूषण-वसनदानविद्रावित - दरिद्रहिमनिबिड-  
पर्वतेषु ॥ ८ ॥

- |   |                                |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. A <sub>2</sub> adds सं   | 2. B om. the <i>Praśasti</i> . |
| 3. A <sub>2</sub> बलवेगवत्तरानिलेषु   | 4. A <sub>1</sub> शालिस्वेषु   |
| 5. A <sub>2</sub> त for स   | 6. A <sub>1</sub> om. गङ्गा    |
| 7. A <sub>2</sub> om. the passage हितार्थ to सुवर्णेषु                                      |                                |
| 8. A <sub>2</sub> चिन्तितेष्ट to पिङ्गलेषु transferred to after रत्नाकरेषु (2 lines below). |                                |
| 9. B om. the <i>Praśasti</i> .  |                                |
| 10. A <sub>1</sub> om. मान  | 11. A <sub>1</sub> समाज        |
| 12. A <sub>1</sub> Hapl. om. of भक्तजन to विदारण, next line.                                |                                |
| 13. A <sub>1</sub> मन for जन  | 14. A <sub>1</sub> om. देश     |
| 15. A <sub>1</sub> om. स्मरण  |                                |
| 16. A <sub>1</sub> unindicated om. of मानसेषु to नव, next line.                             |                                |



ii. <sup>1</sup>पद्यप्रशस्तयः

स्वस्ति श्रीविप्रपादाब्ज<sup>2</sup>सेवासंसक्तवृत्तिषु ।  
आशिषां राशयो<sup>3</sup> भूयुर्मम वाक्कायमानसाः ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नृपस्नेहपरिवर्द्धितकीर्तिषु ।  
भवत्वति<sup>4</sup>तरामाशीर्द्धनपुत्रप्रकाशिनी<sup>5</sup> ॥ २ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीसेवन<sup>6</sup>प्रज्ञावशीकृतजगत्त्रिषु ।  
विलसन्त्वाशिषां धन्या राशयः प्रीतिनिर्मिताः ॥ ३ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्गुरुस्पष्टवचनाह्लादशालिषु ।  
नित्यं<sup>7</sup> दानरतेष्वाशीरनन्तास्तु<sup>8</sup> शुभप्रदाः ॥ ४ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्धरादेवदैवबुद्धिषु<sup>9</sup> नित्यशः ।  
आदरादखिलप्रेममण्डिते<sup>10</sup>ष्वाशिषः पराः ॥ ५ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्रमानाथसेवकेषु त्रिवर्गदाः ।  
ममाशिषां स्फुरन्त्वाशु ततयः शीलभूषिताः ॥ ६ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमदखण्डभूमिवलयप्रोद्भूतचञ्चनृपा-<sup>11</sup>  
देशप्राप्तसमस्तसौख्यवलित<sup>12</sup>प्रोद्दण्डदेशार्जितैः<sup>13</sup> ।

वासोभिश्च धनैर्महामणिगणैर्गोभिस्तुरङ्गैर्गजैः  
सेवातोषितभूसुरेषु नितरां भूयुः<sup>14</sup> शुभार्थाशिषः ॥ ७ ॥

1. B<sub>5</sub> drops all the verse sections below and begins with the next main section, VI. अथ गुरुविषयः ।
2. A<sub>1</sub> दानाब्ज for पादाब्ज      3. भूयुः for भूयासुः, due to exigency of metre.
4. B<sub>1-3</sub> भवन्त्वति      5. A<sub>1</sub> नीः; A<sub>2</sub> माशीः पुत्रद्रव्यप्रकाशिका
6. A<sub>1</sub> श्रीस्नेहप्रज्ञा, lacking a syllable.
7. A<sub>1,2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> नित्य      8. B<sub>1,4</sub> सुख for शुभ
9. A<sub>1,2</sub> देवबुद्धिषु      10. B<sub>2</sub> प्रेमपण्डिते
11. A<sub>1</sub> चञ्चत्त्रयद् (?)      12. A<sub>1</sub> विजित
13. B<sub>1</sub> देशान्वितैः      14. भूयुः for भूयासुः for metre.



<sup>1</sup>स्वस्ति श्रीमदनेकबुद्धिचिमवप्रोद्यत्प्रतिष्ठार्णव-<sup>2</sup>

स्नानान्प्लावितशत्रुषु द्विजपदद्वन्द्वार्चना<sup>3</sup>शालिषु ।

सेवाकर्मविदग्धमण्डलसदापूज्येषु कामार्थदाः

स्नेहादानतचित्तवृत्तिषु तरां चञ्चन्तु<sup>5</sup> सत्याशिषः ॥८॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत् [ समन्तात् ]<sup>6</sup> सकलगुणगणालङ्कृतोदारशील-

स्फूर्जद्गाम्भीर्यसिन्धुष्वतिशयनयविद्वर्यचर्यारतेषु<sup>7</sup> ।

प्रोद्दामोद्दामलक्ष्मीरमणचरणयोः प्रीतियुक्तेषु नित्यं

<sup>8</sup>तन्वन्त्वायुर्धनानि प्रकृतिमुदमयाः<sup>9</sup> स्वाशिषां राशयो मे ॥९॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

श्रीमहाशरथेः समस्त<sup>10</sup>सुखदप्रोद्दण्डपादाम्बुज-

स्फूर्जद्भक्तिभरेण वर्तत इहानाधिर्वरा भूयसी ।

तामेवाह<sup>11</sup>महर्निशं मुदमयीं<sup>12</sup> वाञ्छामि संवर्धितां<sup>13</sup>

निष्प्रव्यूह<sup>14</sup>मनोभिलाषितफलप्रोद्यत्सुहृद्रोचिताम् ॥ १ ॥

अनाधित्वं<sup>15</sup> नित्यं सकलसुखमयं सम्यगीहे नितान्तम्

भावत्कं वर्द्धमानं धरणिस्सुरमुखोद्गीत<sup>16</sup>कीर्तं गुणाब्धे ।

तच्चात्रातीव<sup>17</sup> तिष्ठत्यधिकरतिरसोल्लासपूरेण कामं<sup>18</sup>

वामाक्षीभावचञ्चद्<sup>19</sup>द्युतिभररसिक ! श्रीहरस्य प्रसादात्<sup>20</sup> ॥२॥

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. B om. the verse.   | 2. A <sub>1</sub> प्रोद्यत्प्रतिष्ठारवि (?)   |
| 3. A <sub>1</sub> पद्वेदार्चना (?पदे वेदार्चना)                               | 4. A <sub>1</sub> दानविचित्र  |
| 5. A <sub>1</sub> तताश्चेतन्तु  | 6. Mss. lack three syllables ; filled tentatively to suit the metre. B <sub>2</sub> om. also गण, thus lacking five syllables. |
| 7. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : शयनपतिद्वयं च स्नेहेषु ; B <sub>1,2,4</sub> तरेषु |   |
| 8. A चञ्चन्त्वायु°  | 9. B प्रचुरत [र] सुखं   |
| 10. A <sub>1</sub> समग्र  | 11. A <sub>1</sub> तानेवाह  |
| 12. A <sub>1</sub> मुदमयो   | 13. A <sub>1</sub> संवर्धितां   |
| 14. A <sub>1</sub> विप्रव्यूह   | 15. Non-metric. Also, lacks one syllable.   |
| 16. B <sub>4</sub> मुखोद्गीर्ण  |   |
| 17. B तच्चात्रव, lacks one syllable.  | 18. A <sub>1</sub> कामे ; A <sub>2</sub> वामं   |
| 19. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : वाञ्छामि भाव च                                   | 20. A श्रीहरेः सुप्रसादात्  |



अत्रानाधित्वमनिशं वरीवर्ति भवान्नया ।  
भवदीयं वरीवर्द्धमानमाशास्महेतराम् ॥ ३ ॥

भवदीयमनाधित्वं ममाधिध्वान्तनाशनम् ।  
सदैवेच्छति मच्चेतस्तदत्रास्ति विशेषतः ॥ ४ ॥

तत्रत्यं भूर्यनाधित्वं दैनंदिनमुपास्महे ।  
इह रामकृपालोकैर्वर्तते नात्र संशयः ॥ ५ ॥

युष्मदीयमनाधित्वमीहे तत्सुतरामिह ।  
सदैवास्ति द्विजश्रेष्ठ ! वचनाधिक्यमानसे<sup>१</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

नालेखि भवता पत्रं निजवृत्त<sup>२</sup>सुशोभनम् ।  
तच्चिन्ता मानसं नित्यं दुनोति खलु मामकम् ॥ १ ॥

तवापूर्वेण<sup>३</sup> भव्येन स्नेहेनैकीकृतं परम् ।  
पत्रं सितेतराङ्गाङ्गं विश्लेषतिमिरापहम् ॥ २ ॥

चिन्तामार्गपरिश्रान्तचेतसः श्रमनाशनम् ।  
प्रेषणीयं द्रुतं पत्रं स्वीयवृत्ताक्षराङ्कितम् ॥ ३ ॥

मेलने<sup>४</sup> मेलने<sup>५</sup> यस्य दर्शने यस्य दर्शनम् ।  
कथं न प्रेष्यते पत्रं तथा<sup>६</sup>ऽजीवस्य जीवनम् ॥ ४ ॥

अपि दूरतरस्थाना<sup>७</sup>माश्लेषसुखदायकम् ।  
पत्रमेकचरं<sup>८</sup> लोके किमु तत्प्रेष्यते न हि ॥ ५ ॥

1. A<sub>1</sub> वचनास्तिक्यमानसम् ; A<sub>2</sub> मानस ; B<sub>1,4</sub> मानसः

2. B पत्रं for वृत्त

3. B<sub>4</sub> तव पूर्वेण

4. A<sub>1</sub> मिलने

5. A<sub>1</sub> B<sub>4</sub> मिलनं

6. A तद्यद्

7. A<sub>1</sub> अपि दूरस्थसुहृदा

8. A<sub>1</sub> पत्रमेव वरं



शूद्रविषये पत्रलेखनोपायप्रकारः

मच्चित्तचातक<sup>1</sup>स्यार्तिहरणोद्यतजीवनम् ।

भवत्पत्रघनं नित्यमिहलोकः प्रतीक्षते<sup>2</sup> ॥ ६ ॥

विरहोदधिमग्नस्य मम स्नेहार्द्रचेतसः ।

समुद्धर्तुं भवत्पत्रसमाचारो न संशयः ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>3</sup>विरहव्यथापयोधौ नियतं प्रणयिजनो निमज्जेत ।

यदि न भवेदवलम्बो मित्रात् पत्रागमः पोतः ॥ ८ ॥

॥ इति शूद्रविषयः ॥

॥ इति चातुर्वर्ण्य<sup>4</sup> प्रशस्तयः ॥

3 इति चातुर्वर्ण्यं

1. A<sub>1</sub> वानक for चातक

2. A<sub>1</sub> corrupt : लोव अमोक्षति ; A<sub>2</sub> -क्षति

3. A om. this verse.

4. A<sub>1</sub> B चतुर्विध



## VI. अथ गुरुविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमदणिमादिसिद्धि-दानोत्साहपूरणान्तःकरण-मुनिगणसभा-  
मण्डनसमीहित<sup>1</sup>-चरणसरोजयुग्मेषु, निगमागमोदित-षट्प्रयोगसिद्धि<sup>2</sup>वशीकृत-  
दिव्यादिसमस्तसिद्धौघेषु,<sup>3</sup> प्रकटीकृतेष्टदेवत<sup>4</sup>प्रसाद-विजितदश<sup>5</sup>दिग्विलासि-परमा-  
खण्डलादिदेवेषु ॥ १ ॥

### ii. <sup>6</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्निगमपथसमुद्गीतदिव्यागमान्तः-  
सारोद्धाररसप्रयोगकरणज्ञानान्तसत्कीर्तिषु<sup>7</sup> ।  
शापानुग्रहणक्षमेषु नितरां मूर्ध्ना परार्धोर्ध्वगा  
<sup>8</sup>भूयासुर्गुरूपदपद्मयुगलेष्वात्प्रणामाः शुभाः ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्कृपासिन्धुष्वक्षि<sup>9</sup>ध्वान्तरविष्वलम्<sup>10</sup> ।  
भूरिशो मत्प्रणामाः स्युर्गुरूपदयुगेष्वितः ॥ २ ॥

### iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

श्रीमदीयं सदा भव्यं समीहेऽजीवजीवनम् ।  
भवच्चरणपाथोजरेणोस्त्वत्रास्ति तद् ध्रुवम् ॥ १ ॥

### iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

कृपास्नेहदयाभाव !<sup>11</sup> परिभावितमद्भुतम् ।  
पत्रं समीहते चेतः प्रेष्यतां<sup>12</sup> सौख्यहेतवे ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति गुरुविषयः ॥

1. B<sub>4</sub> समीहित
2. B<sub>1,4</sub> corrupt, सिद्ध
3. A<sub>2</sub> B सिद्धौघेषु
4. A<sub>1,2</sub> देव ; B<sub>2</sub> देवत
5. A<sub>1</sub> om. दश ; A<sub>2</sub> विदिक् for दिक् following.
6. B<sub>5</sub> om. the poetic sections.
7. A<sub>1</sub> reads the first half differently :

स्वस्ति श्रीनिगमागमोदितमनूद्धारालसत्कीर्तिषु

प्राणायामवशीकृतानिलगणेष्वविर्भवतिसिद्धिषु ।

8. A<sub>1,2</sub> सम्भूयुः for भूयासुः ।
9. A<sub>1,2</sub> सिन्धुष्वार्ति ; B<sub>1,3</sub> सिन्ध्वक्षि
10. B छिदेष्वलम्
11. B<sub>4</sub> पात्र for भाव
12. A<sub>1</sub> प्रेषणं



## VII. <sup>1</sup>अथ सन्न्यासिविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलविद्या<sup>2</sup>विनोद-वैशद्यविशदीकृत-निगमरहस्य-बृहदु-  
पनिषदभ्यास-परिभाषितान्तःकरण-<sup>3</sup>तुच्छीकृत<sup>4</sup>-विहिताखिलेन्द्रियार्थेषु, प्रोद्गण्ड-  
<sup>5</sup>योगोत्तम<sup>6</sup>ध्यान-दुर्लभस्वरूप-शुद्धसत्त्वैकराशि - परब्रह्मानन्दमय - <sup>7</sup>विलोकितजङ्गमा -  
जङ्गम<sup>8</sup>प्रपञ्चेषु, शमदमादिपरिमर्दित-षड्मिंतरङ्गासक्त<sup>9</sup>-मनोवृत्तित्यक्त-<sup>10</sup>माया-  
विलासदेहात्माभिमान-शान्तस्वान्ताव्यय-चिदाभासभासित-निजबोधेषु ॥ १ ॥

### ii. पद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समस्तोद्भट<sup>11</sup>गुणगरिमाकीर्णवेदान्तविद्यो-  
ब्लासप्रद्योतितान्तःकरणगतजगत्कारणानन्दकेषु ।

लोकप्रख्यातकर्मात्खननगुरुर्यशःपूर्णचित्ता<sup>12</sup>भिलाष-

स्वानन्दाभ्यासि<sup>13</sup>वर्गेष्वगणितनतयः सन्तु तुर्यार्थदेषु<sup>14</sup> ॥१॥

1. B<sub>5</sub> drops this section.

2. A<sub>1</sub> om. विद्या

3. B<sub>5</sub> तुच्छा

4. A<sub>1.2</sub> om. कृत ; B<sub>4</sub> crosses it out.

5. B<sub>4</sub> adds here प्र

6. B<sub>1</sub> योगोत्तमोत्तम

7. A<sub>1</sub> om. वि

8. A<sub>1</sub> जङ्गमागम ; A<sub>2</sub> जगत्

9. A<sub>1.2</sub> B<sub>3</sub> तरङ्गासंसक्त

10. B<sub>4</sub> unindicated gap from माया to बोधेषु, next line.

11. A<sub>2</sub> भव for भट

12. A<sub>1.2</sub> चिन्ता ; B<sub>2</sub> चिन्ता corrected to चित्ता

13. A<sub>1.2</sub> लक्षेष्वावन्दाभ्यासि (A<sub>1</sub> -नन्दत्रि).

14. A<sub>1</sub> corrupt : पर्यार्थदेषु



स्वस्ति श्रीवेदविद्यार्थवित्तमेषु<sup>3</sup> सहस्रशः ।  
नतीनां ततयः सन्तु त्यक्तलोकैषिणेष्वितः ॥ २ ॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

भवच्चरणपाथोजप्रसादादिह शं वरम्<sup>4</sup> ।  
तत्रत्यमेधमानं तत् समीहेऽहर्निशं परम्<sup>5</sup> ॥ १ ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

संसारतापशीतांशुसमं विज्ञानकाशनम् ।  
पत्रं न लिख्यते श्रीमन् ! कथं पूर्णदयानिधे ! ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति सन्न्यासविषयः ॥

1. A<sub>1</sub> om. the next two verses.

2. A<sub>3</sub> commences again, after the long gap, with विद्या

3. A<sub>2</sub> चिन्तकेषु

4. A<sub>2,3</sub> सत्वरं

5. A<sub>3</sub> मीहेऽहमहर्निशम्



## VIII. अथ वैष्णवविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलदनुजेन्द्र-रावणदर्पविद्रावण-परमपावन-जनपावन<sup>1</sup>-रघुवर-<sup>2</sup>  
चरण-नखचन्द्रप्रकाशितान्तःकरण-शान्त<sup>3</sup>स्वभाव-समानीकृत<sup>4</sup>-ध्रुवादिसमस्तभवतेषु,  
सर्वोत्तमश्लोकगुणानुवादश्रवणगान<sup>5</sup>-रसानुसन्धान-<sup>6</sup>महोत्सवानन्दामोदित-मनोवृत्ति-<sup>7</sup>  
गमिताहोरात्रसमयेषु, सदागमोक्त-यथोपदिष्ट-सच्छिष्यो<sup>8</sup>पहारीकृत-धननिचय-<sup>9</sup>  
विहित-हरिजन्मादि-विधिपरितोषित-परोपकारनिरत-विद्वद्वैष्णववृन्द-प्रतिष्ठागरिष्ठ-  
वरिष्ठेषु<sup>10</sup> ॥ १ ॥

### ii. <sup>11</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीरघुवीरचारुचरणध्यानैकवद्वस्पृह-

स्फूर्जद्भव्यसभा<sup>13</sup>विनोदरसिकेष्वाणन्दयुक्तेष्वितः ।

चञ्चन्तु<sup>14</sup> प्रतिवासरं नतिगणाः स्नेहार्द्रभावोद्धुराः

कामं कामददेवशाखिषु<sup>15</sup> चतुर्वर्णाश्रमेन्द्रेष्वलम्<sup>16</sup> ॥ १ ॥

- 
- |   |  |                        |
|---|--|------------------------|
| 1. A om. पावन   | 2. A <sub>1</sub> om. वर   | 3. B स्वान्त for शान्त |
| 4. A वशीकृत   | 5. A <sub>2</sub> om. गान ; B गायन   |                        |
| 6. A <sub>1,3</sub> स्नेहो for महो  | 7. B <sub>2</sub> वृत्त; B <sub>3</sub> कृत for वृत्ति ; A <sub>3</sub> corrupt : मोदितनोहंस |                        |
| 8. A <sub>1</sub> सदैरक्षी ; B <sub>4</sub> तच्छिष्यो   | 9. B <sub>4</sub> विनय for निचय  |                        |
| 10. A वरिष्ठगरिष्ठेषु   | 11. B <sub>8</sub> om. the verse sections..  |                        |
| 12. B <sub>9</sub> unindicated gap from चारु to प्रतिवा, next line.   |  |                        |
| 13. A <sub>1,3</sub> सदा for सभा  | 14. A <sub>1</sub> चेचन्तु   |                        |
| 15. A <sub>2</sub> शालिषु   |  |                        |
| 16. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : श्रमेद्येष्वलम् ; A <sub>2</sub> श्रमस्थेष्वलम् ; A <sub>3</sub> श्रमेद्येष्वलम् ; B <sub>1</sub> श्रमेद्येष्वलम् ; B <sub>2</sub> श्रमेद्येष्वलम् |  |                        |



स्वस्ति श्रीरुक्मिणिकान्तचरणावद्धवृत्तिषु<sup>1</sup> ।  
वैष्णवास्पदपूज्येषु स्फुरन्तु नतयः शुभाः ॥ २ ॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

श्रीरामचरणाम्भोजप्रसादादत्र शम् भृशम्<sup>2</sup> ।  
वरीवर्ति महाभक्त ! भवदीयमुपास्महे ॥ १ ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

मध्वर्थदरसास्वाद<sup>4</sup>धर्मभक्ति<sup>5</sup>प्रकाशनम् ।  
पत्रं न लिखितं पुण्यं किमु चित्रं न विद्महे ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति वैष्णवविषयः ॥

1. B<sub>2</sub> दृष्टिषु

2. B<sub>4</sub> Hap. om. of the verse.

3. A संभृशम् ; B<sub>3</sub> प्रसादादचणं भृशम्

4. A<sub>1</sub> मध्वर्थं दधे सास्वादु (?) ; A<sub>2</sub> मध्वर्थमुप्रसास्वाद ; A<sub>3</sub> मध्वर्थे दप्रसास्वादु

5. A भक्तिधर्म for धर्मभक्ति



## IX. अथ कविविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमद्विविधकविताविचार-विनोदवशीकृत-नवरसरसिकजनान्तः-  
करणेषु, सकलभूपालसमाजविराजमान-सन्मण्डलीमण्डन<sup>1</sup>-वाग्विलासलब्ध-यशःपूर-  
पवित्रित<sup>2</sup>त्रिलोकीतलेषु, निजकरकमलवितरितानेक-धनचयविमर्दित-सद्भूमिदेव-  
प्रचण्डदरिद्रेषु ॥ १ ॥

### ii. पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्समन्तान्निखिलगुणगणस्फीतविद्याविनोद-  
प्रोद्भूतानन्दकन्देष्वनुपमकविताडम्बरोर्मिप्रियेषु ।  
विस्फुर्जहानशीलस्फुटतर<sup>3</sup>सुयशःपूरशुभ्राब्धिराजे-  
ष्वानम्रेणैव मूर्ध्ना भवतु नतिततिर्मेऽनुरागार्द्रभावा<sup>4</sup> ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीवाग्विलासार्थवशीकृतजगत्त्रिषु ।  
विलसन्तु नतीनां मे ततयः कविषु<sup>5</sup> क्षमाः ॥ २ ॥

### iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

शमस्त्यत्र भावत्कमीहामहे 'तत्तरां येन चित्ते<sup>6</sup> मुदं जायते नः<sup>7</sup> ।  
भवद्भिल्लिखित्वा वरं<sup>8</sup> पत्रमेकं द्रुतं प्रेषणीयं सुखप्राप्तिहेतु<sup>9</sup> ॥ १ ॥

- 
- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. B <sub>2</sub> मण्डल                      | 2. A <sub>1</sub> B <sub>4</sub> om. त्रित |
| 3. B <sub>5</sub> drops the poetic sections. |  |
| 4. B <sub>2-3</sub> om. सु                   | 5. B <sub>4</sub> रागानुभावा               |
| 6. A <sub>2</sub> ततिः सुकविषु               | 7. B <sub>4</sub> om. तत्                  |
| 8. A <sub>1</sub> om. चित्ते                 | 9. B जायमानः                               |
| 10. A <sub>3</sub> परं                       | 11. A <sub>3</sub> हेतुः ; B हेतुः         |



iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

सुपत्रं<sup>1</sup> प्रशस्तं शुभं पण्डितेभ्यं<sup>2</sup>परस्नेहवैशद्यं<sup>3</sup> हेतुं<sup>4</sup> सुखाढ्यम्<sup>11</sup> ।

भवद्भिः कदाचित् कथं लिख्यते नो

कविप्रोल्लसन्मौलिचूडामाणे तत् ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति कविविषयः ॥

1. A<sub>1.3</sub> पवित्रं ; A<sub>2</sub> B<sub>1.3</sub> पत्रं2. A<sub>2</sub> corrupt : शुभं खण्डिताभ ; B<sub>4</sub> तेन्द्रं3. A<sub>1.3</sub> वैराग्य4. A<sub>2</sub> हेतुं



## X. अथ गणकविषयः

### i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सकलमनुजाविदितगति-नवग्रहप्रचार<sup>1</sup>-प्रमाणीकृतसमय-<sup>2</sup>सद्ज्ञान<sup>3</sup>साधिताखिलपदार्थ-सन्तोषितविबुधसमाज<sup>4</sup>-विराजमान - सम्मानमेदुरान्तः-करणेषु, अतीतानागत<sup>5</sup>-समाचारविचार-सिद्धान्त-प्रकथनोपार्जित-प्रतिष्ठावशीकृत-स्वर्गवासिशिरोभिरीडितपदद्वन्द्व-गर्गादिमुनिवरेषु, <sup>6</sup>सद्योगाभ्याससमासादित<sup>7</sup>-मनो-वृत्तिपरिध्यानेष्ट<sup>8</sup>देवताप्रभावलब्ध<sup>9</sup> - वचनसिद्धिप्रदर्शित-सकलजीवोपगीत<sup>10</sup>-स्फीत-<sup>11</sup>सत्कीर्तिचन्द्रसुधाधवलितखण्डदिङ्मण्डलेषु ॥ १ ॥

### ii. <sup>12</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीमन्नितान्तं सुरनरदनुजप्राप्तचञ्चत्प्रभाव-  
प्रोद्दामोद्दाम [कालाद्]<sup>13</sup> गगनचरगतिज्ञातसर्वार्थकेषु ।  
नक्षत्रैर्योगयुक्तैस्तदनु<sup>14</sup> विशदै राशिभिः सिद्धकार्यै-  
ष्वानन्दात् सन्तु नित्यं सुजनसुखरूपाः<sup>15</sup> सन्नतीनां विलासाः ॥१॥

- 
1. A<sub>2</sub> विचार for प्रचार
  2. A<sub>3</sub> समाज ; A<sub>2</sub> om. सद् following ; B<sub>4</sub> सम for सद्
  3. A<sub>1</sub> गुण for ज्ञान
  4. B<sub>2,3,5</sub> सम्मान for समाज
  5. A<sub>1</sub> अज्ञातानागत
  6. A<sub>1</sub> सयोग ; A<sub>2</sub> om. स
  7. A<sub>2,3</sub> B<sub>3,5</sub> साधित ; B<sub>1,2</sub> समाधित ; B<sub>4</sub> समाधि
  8. A<sub>1</sub> ध्यातेष्ट
  9. A बल for लब्ध
  10. A<sub>1</sub> जीवगीत
  11. A<sub>1</sub> om. स्फीत ; B<sub>4</sub> स्फूर्जत्
  12. C<sub>5</sub> om. the poetic sections.
  13. All Mss. read बलाद् , which is non-metric ; emendation to कालाद् has been made to suit the sense and the metre.
  14. A<sub>1</sub> तनुलव, hypermetric, for तदनु ; A<sub>2</sub> तनुच ; B<sub>4</sub> तनुज
  15. A<sub>1,2</sub> मयाः ; A<sub>3</sub> चयाः



स्वस्ति श्रीगर्गवर्गोत्थ<sup>1</sup>शास्त्रविज्ञानशालिषु ।  
गोचराचरणप्राप्तसिद्धिषु प्रोन्नता नतिः ॥ २ ॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

श्रीमदीयं सदा चेतः<sup>2</sup> कुशलं हि समीहते ।  
भवदीयैव कृपया वरीवर्त्यत्र तत् परम् ॥ १ ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

पत्रं परानन्दकरं<sup>3</sup> वियोगप्रकृष्टचञ्चद्गजर्षिहरूपम् ।  
स्वहस्तवर्णाङ्कुशमव्यमद्भुतं कथं न सौख्यार्थमिह प्रयोजितम् ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति गणकविषयः ॥

1. B<sub>1.4</sub> वक्रोत्थ

2. A<sub>3</sub> चेतत्

3. A<sub>1</sub> परस्परानन्दकरं



## XI. अथ पितृविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्परमानन्द<sup>1</sup>मेदुरीभूतान्तःकरण-धीरत्व<sup>2</sup>प्रेरित-पराक्रमो-  
पार्जितातिद्रव्य<sup>3</sup>-सन्तोषितास्मन्मनोरथाह्लादिता<sup>4</sup>त्मसुखानुभव-तूर्ण-पूर्णाभूताखिलार्था-<sup>5</sup>  
भिलाषेषु, मधुरसम्भाषित-स्नेहपालित-लालित-शिशुवदनसुधांशु-निःसृतामृतोपमेय-  
वचन<sup>6</sup>-विलासविनोदोप<sup>7</sup>नीत<sup>8</sup>होरात्रसमयेषु, <sup>9</sup>सकलदिक्चक्र<sup>9</sup>शोभायमानावनितल-  
लसत्पयोधिपरापार - सत्कीर्तिलब्ध - गरिष्ठप्रतिष्ठ - कनिष्ठीकृतानेकविद्वज्जन - भूपाल-  
कारितात्मजसमाराधनेषु ॥ १ ॥

ii. <sup>10</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीविविधोद्यमार्जितधनप्रोद्यद्द्विलासावलि-  
स्फूर्जत्सौख्यसमस्त<sup>11</sup>तोषितशिशुस्तोमेषु सोमोपमाः ।  
सस्नेहं नितरां सुहृद्भट<sup>12</sup>सरःप्रोल्लासितात्यद्भुतं  
श्रीमत्पङ्कजशालिषु प्रतिदिनं दण्डप्रणामाश्च मे ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीजन्मकर्मार्थप्रदेशु<sup>13</sup> जनकेष्वितः ।  
स्नेहार्द्रभावसहिताः स्फुरन्तु नतयः पराः ॥ २ ॥

- 
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. B <sub>2.3</sub> परानन्द                                |   |
| 2. B <sub>1.2</sub> धीरत्वे                                | 3. A <sub>1</sub> पार्जितद्रव्य ; B <sub>5</sub> पार्जिताद्रव्य |
| 4. A <sub>3</sub> B <sub>1.2.3.5</sub> मनोरथाह्लादाह्लादित | 5. B <sub>4</sub> लाघव्य  |
| 6. A <sub>1</sub> corrupt : निःसृतोपवचन                    | 7. A दाप  |
| 8. B om. the rest of the <i>Praśasti</i> .                 | 9. A <sub>2</sub> adds क्रम                                     |
| 10. B <sub>5</sub> drops the poetic sections.              | 11. A समूह for समस्त  |
| 12. A <sub>2.3</sub> B सुहृद्भट, hypermetric.              | 13. B <sub>1.4</sub> प्रशेषु ; B <sub>2.3</sub> यशेषु           |



## iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

भवदाशीर्वचो भावात् कुशलं मेऽनुवर्तते ।  
श्रीमदीयं सदैवेहे कुशलं माग्यवर्द्धनम्<sup>1</sup> ॥ १ ॥

iv. विज्ञप्त्या<sup>2</sup> पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

पितुः पुत्रेष्वभक्तेषु सेवाहीनेष्वपि ध्रुवम् ।  
स्नेहो विवर्धते<sup>3</sup> नित्यं स्वभावो<sup>4</sup> जन्मदस्य वै ॥ १ ॥  
पत्रं सन्तोषदं पुण्यं स्नेहपङ्कजभास्करम् ।  
कथं न प्रेष्यते तात ! विश्लेषध्वान्तनाशनम् ॥ २ ॥

॥ इति पितृविषयः ॥

- 
1. B<sub>2-3</sub> वर्धिनीम्
  2. A<sub>2</sub> विज्ञप्तिपूर्वक
  3. A हि वर्धते
  4. A स्वभावात्



## XII. अथ मातृविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुकृत<sup>1</sup>चयकनिष्ठीकृतारुन्धतीषु, तपःप्रभावसमानीकृत-गिरि-  
शात्मजासु, स्वामिमनोरथेङ्गित-ज्ञानप्रकाश-दासीविहितानुसूयासु, <sup>2</sup>जन्म-  
जन्मार्जितातिशय-दुरितभस्मीकरण-पराक्रमस्वाहासु, <sup>3</sup>पुत्रोत्सवानन्द-पीनान्तः-  
करण<sup>4</sup>यशोदासु, <sup>5</sup>सकलपुण्य-मनोरथपरिपूरणप्रताप-कल्पलतिकासु, स्मरण-  
पवित्रित-मोहान्ध<sup>6</sup>तमःखचित-मानसगङ्गासु, शिशुनिचयाभिलाषित-शुभनर्मदासु,  
सावयव-दयामूर्तिमातृषु, <sup>7</sup>क्रीतातिलघुनर-दासानु<sup>8</sup>दासाज्ञाविलास<sup>9</sup>-क्रिया<sup>10</sup>निवास<sup>11</sup>स्य  
ममातिभक्ति<sup>12</sup>भर-प्रोद्गुरा नतितति<sup>13</sup>विलासाः ॥ १ ॥

ii. <sup>14</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनेकमङ्गलमयप्रोद्गण्डभाग्याक्षर-

स्फूर्जद्द्रव्य<sup>15</sup>सुतादिसौख्यविलसच्चिन्ताभिलाषास्वलम् ।

<sup>16</sup>भक्त्या भूतलसंस्पृशः स्फुटतराः चञ्चत्प्रणामाः शुभा

नित्यं सन्तु दयार्द्रभावकुशलास्वम्बासु कीर्तिप्रदाः ॥ १ ॥

- 
1. B<sub>1.4</sub> श्री श्रीमतीषूक्तसुकृत (B<sub>4</sub> -सुकृतासु)
  2. A<sub>1.3</sub> Hapl. om. of जन्म ; C<sub>4</sub> om. जन्म to यशोदासु, next line.
  3. B<sub>1-3.5</sub> सुपुत्रो
  4. B<sub>1.2.5</sub> पुत्रवागानन्ददानान्तःकरण
  5. A<sub>1</sub> om. सकल to नर्मदासु, two lines below.
  6. B<sub>3</sub> महोघ ; B<sub>4</sub> महोन्ध
  7. A<sub>3</sub> कृत
  8. A<sub>1</sub> दासानु, duplicated ; B<sub>4</sub> om. the word.
  9. A<sub>2</sub> corrupt : दाससंज्ञाविलास
  10. A कृपा for क्रिया
  11. A<sub>3</sub> विलास
  12. A<sub>1</sub> corrupt : सस्य मनोरथातिभक्ति
  13. A<sub>1</sub> नतितत्त्व ; A<sub>3</sub> प्रेद्गुरो नदतितति, corrupt.
  14. B<sub>5</sub> drops the poetic sections.
  15. A<sub>1.2</sub> भाव्य ; A<sub>3</sub> भव्य
  16. B<sub>4</sub> om. the latter half of the verse.



स्वस्ति श्रीमदयाभावभावितासु भृशं पराः ।  
नतीनां ततयः सन्तु पुण्यास्वम्बासु भक्तितः ॥ २ ॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

मातुराशीर्वचः प्रोद्यत्प्रतापाच्छन्दि वाऽनिशम् ।  
वर्ततेऽत्र, भवत्याश्च प्रतिक्षणमुपास्महे ॥ १ ॥

मातुः पुत्रेषु या प्रीतिः सा ज्ञेया<sup>1</sup> पारमार्थिकी ।  
जायते नात्र सन्देहो जानेऽन्तःकरणेष्वहम्<sup>2</sup> ॥ २ ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपात्मप्रकारः

मयि सेवाविहीनेऽपि दीने लीने पदाम्बुजे ।  
भक्त्या मातः ! कथं पत्रं प्रेष्यते न महामते ॥ १ ॥

॥ इति मातृविषयः ॥

1. B<sub>2,3</sub> corrupt, ज्ञेयावत् for सा ज्ञेया

2. A<sub>1,2</sub> B<sub>4</sub> बलम्



## XIII. अथ स्त्रीविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सरसवाग्विलास-विमलचातुर्य-परिचारिकीकृत-भव्य-  
 भारतीषु,<sup>1</sup> मन्दहास्यामृतधारासन्तोषित-नितान्त<sup>2</sup>कान्तान्तःकरणासु,<sup>3</sup> कटाक्षा-  
 वलोकनपराभूत-कमलखञ्जनमीनैणमदनबाणासु,<sup>4</sup> स्वीयसौन्दर्यतिरस्कृत-विद्युच्छची<sup>5</sup>  
 रतिरम्भाद्यनेकाप्सरःसमूहासु, सुरनरदनुज-मनोहारिणीरमासु, दर्शन-स्पर्शन-  
 चेतनीकृतानङ्गासु, सङ्गीतविद्यारहस्योक्त-विविधगतिविचार-चारुगमनासु,  
 मुकुरसुधाधर-सहस्राभिलाषित-वदनस्वरूपासु, विद्रुमबन्धूक<sup>6</sup>कनक<sup>7</sup>पल्लवश्रुति-  
 जय-शोभायमानाधरासु, ध्यानागम<sup>8</sup>विनाशित-विश्लेषदुःखसमूहासु, <sup>9</sup>मत्समाचार-  
 प्रचुरतर<sup>10</sup>पत्रावलोकन<sup>11</sup>निबद्ध-नयननिमेषासु, सितेतरातिदीर्घोरगोपमेयारक्त-  
 गुणाभिगुम्फित - वेणिप्रतिबिम्बभ्रमावभासित - रोमावलीविराजित - चलदलाभि -  
 राम<sup>12</sup>-कृशोदरीषु, रसिकजनावसेव्य<sup>13</sup>-क्रोकारिकासु, गभीरार्थानुभवप्रद-बल-  
 वदन<sup>14</sup>गन्धरीषु,<sup>15</sup> प्राणादप्यधिक-प्राणप्रियासु, नितान्तालिङ्गनपूर्वकस्नेह-  
 समूहाः<sup>16</sup> ॥ १ ॥

- 
1. B unindicated om. of रतीषु to कटाक्षा, next line.
  2. A<sub>1</sub> निमित्त for नितान
  3. A<sub>1</sub> wrongly गेषु for णासु, here, as also below, in similar places.
  4. A<sub>2</sub> मीनेण ; B मीनैणमदनबाणासु
  5. A. B<sub>3.4</sub> छवि for छची
  6. B<sub>4</sub> चञ्चूक for बन्धूक
  7. A नत्र for कनक
  8. A गमन
  9. A. B<sub>4</sub> सत् for मत्
  10. A<sub>2</sub> प्रचुरभर
  11. B<sub>1</sub> पत्रालोकन
  12. All Mss. read only चलदलाभिराम
  13. A<sub>1</sub> मन्मनोविसेव्य ; A<sub>3</sub> रसिकजनविशेष
  14. Mss. corrupt : A<sub>1</sub> बलवद ; A<sub>2</sub> B<sub>1.4</sub> बल ; A<sub>3</sub> वलद
  15. A<sub>1</sub> गन्धारीषु ; B<sub>2.3</sub> गंभीरुषु, corrupt.
  16. B<sub>4</sub> समूहासु ; B<sub>2</sub> marginal note : प्रणामा इत्यर्थः



ii. <sup>1</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीशरदिन्दुमण्डलसलक्ष्मीजितास्यास्वलं

चञ्चलखञ्जननीलनीरजचलन्नेत्रासु दीर्घादराः ।

सर्वस्त्रीमुकुटोत्तमाङ्गविलसद्रत्नावलीरञ्जित-

श्रीपीठासु रहस्यमानसमये स्नेहात् प्रणामाः शुभाः ॥ १ ॥

स्वस्ति श्रीमत्सुदेहार्चिप्रकाशितजगत्त्रिषु ।

राकाचन्द्रनिभास्यासु स्नेहाश्लेषशुभाशिषः ॥ २ ॥

## iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

त्वन्मूर्तिर्ध्यानयोगेन सुधाकर<sup>2</sup>विलासिना<sup>3</sup> ।

इहास्ति कुशलं कान्ते तव वाञ्छाम्यनुक्षणम् ॥ १ ॥

## iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

स्वहस्तयुक्तवर्णाङ्कं<sup>4</sup> स्नेहार्थसुखदं प्रियम्<sup>5</sup> ।

हृदयाह्लादनकरं पत्रं न प्रेष्यते कथम् ॥ १ ॥

## vi. स्वीयस्नेहद्योतनप्रकारः

<sup>6</sup>त्वद्वेणीश्यामनागेषु मन्मनश्चैन्द्रजालिकम्<sup>7</sup> ।

तिष्ठत्यहर्निशं कान्ते ! नितान्तमुदमेधयन् ॥ १ ॥

अयि पङ्कजपत्राक्षि ! त्वन्नेत्रकमले भृशम् ।

मम जीवोऽयमुन्मत्तद्विरेफ इव जीवति ॥ २ ॥

1. B<sub>5</sub> drops the poetic sections.

2. A रस for कर

3. A<sub>1.3</sub> B<sub>1</sub> विशालिना

4. A<sub>3</sub>. B स्वहस्तकमलार्णाङ्कं

5. A<sub>1</sub> सुखदप्रियम्

6. B<sub>4</sub> om. the verse.

7. A<sub>2.3</sub> B<sub>2</sub> मन्मनःस्वेन्द्रजालिकम् (B<sub>4</sub>-स्वेन्द्र-)



त्वद्भूधनुषि तन्वङ्गि ! कटाक्षशरसन्धिते<sup>1</sup> ।  
मत्प्राणोऽयं विचिक्रीड धनुर्धर इवाद्भूतः<sup>2</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

त्वन्नासिकावकाशेषु स्वच्छगन्धवहेष्वलम् ।  
लीन एव स्थिरीभूतो स्वात्मा<sup>3</sup> सिद्ध इवापरः ॥ ४ ॥

मधूकाभकपोले ते मनोभवरसालये<sup>4</sup> ।  
सुखमेति परं<sup>5</sup> नित्यं ममायं हि मनोमृगः ॥ ५ ॥

विश्वप्रवालधनूकपद्मारागारुणेऽधरे<sup>6</sup> ।  
मनोऽनुरागमुत्पाद्य वरीवर्ति दिने दिने ॥ ६ ॥

चिबुके तत्र शृङ्गाररसमुद्राङ्किते ह्यलम्<sup>7</sup> ।  
मदीयहृदयस्थोऽयं मदनः श्रेष्ठतां<sup>8</sup> गतः ॥ ७ ॥

तव कम्बूसमग्रीवा विद्वज्जनमनोहरा ।  
मम हृत्समुद्रमध्यस्था वर्ततेऽहर्निशं सखे ! ॥ ८ ॥

तवोरसि परं स्वच्छे<sup>9</sup> कुचावेव स्वयम्भुवौ<sup>10</sup> ।  
पूजाध्यानविहिनोऽहं तत्राशंसन्<sup>12</sup> करप्रदः ॥ ९ ॥

तव नाभिहृदे मग्नं मनस्तद्ग्रहणे स्मरः ।  
रोमराजीगुणं क्षिप्य<sup>13</sup> गुणाङ्गान्तर<sup>14</sup>मास्थितः ॥ १० ॥

- 
- |   |  |                                    |
|---|--|------------------------------------|
| 1. B <sub>2,3</sub> सन्धिनि   | 2. A <sub>2</sub> इवाद्भुतम्   | 3. A <sub>1,3</sub> ह्यात्मा       |
| 4. B मनोमयरसालये  |  | 5. A <sub>1-3</sub> B परे for परं. |
| 6. A <sub>2</sub> B <sub>1-4</sub> रागारुणाधरे  | 7. A <sub>1</sub> ते प्यलम् ; A <sub>2</sub> ते स्वच्छम् ; B <sub>1-4</sub> तेष्वलम् |                                    |
| 8. A <sub>2,3</sub> B <sub>3,4</sub> श्रेष्ठितां ; A <sub>2,3</sub> B श्रेष्ठितां             |  | 9. A. B <sub>2-4</sub> परस्वच्छे   |
| 10. A <sub>2</sub> स्वयंभुवा  |  |                                    |
| 11. A <sub>2</sub> reads the line differently : स्थापितौ, तत्र पूजार्थं स्थापितोऽहं कृशोदरि । |  |                                    |
| 12. A <sub>2</sub> B <sub>1,3</sub> तत्राशंसन् ; B <sub>4</sub> तत्राशंसत्                    |  |                                    |
| 13. Grammar requires here क्षिप्त्वा  | 14. A स्तनाङ्गान्तर  |                                    |



सुन्दरि ! तव कटिदेशे मुनिजनमनसाप्यदृश्यरूपे ।  
मद्दृष्टिर्वह्ना<sup>1</sup>लग्ना<sup>2</sup> पश्यत्यहर्निशं मनोज्ञे ॥ ११ ॥

त्वदीयपुण्याब्ज<sup>3</sup>सुरूपकोशे<sup>4</sup> वृत्तिर्मदीया स्थिरतामवाप ।  
प्रोत्फुल्लपङ्केरुहमध्यदेशे रमेव चाञ्चल्यगुणं विहाय ॥ १२ ॥

तवाङ्घ्रियुग्मे कमलोपमेये नितम्बभारालसगन्तुकामे<sup>5</sup> ।  
मनःस्मरः<sup>6</sup> सूत्रधराभिमानी<sup>7</sup> जगत्त्रदृष्ट्या गणयत्यनाथम्<sup>8</sup> ॥ १३ ॥

॥ इति स्त्रीविषयः ॥

- 
1. A<sub>2</sub> तत्र for ब्रह्म
  2. B<sub>2,3</sub> मग्ना for लग्ना
  3. A<sub>1</sub> पाण्यङ्कुशः ; A<sub>2,3</sub> पाण्यब्जसु
  4. A<sub>2</sub> कोटौ
  5. A<sub>1</sub> गन्तुकाये (?)
  6. Mss. corrupt : B<sub>1-4</sub> स्मरे
  7. A<sub>2</sub> सूत्रातिधराभिमानं (?)
  8. Mss. corrupt : यत्र दृष्ट्या etc. ; A<sub>3</sub> जगदृष्ट्या etc. ; नाकम् ; B<sub>1,2,4</sub> मानी-  
gap-जगन्नयत्पताकम् (B<sub>4</sub> gap unindicated) ; B<sub>3</sub> जगन्नपत्यताम् ।



## XIV. अथ भ्रातृविषयः

## i. गद्यप्रशस्तिः

स्वस्ति श्रीमदनेकपुण्यगणलभ्यमान<sup>1</sup>-सकलजीवसंस्तुत-ज्ञानाभिमान<sup>2</sup>स्थान -  
मनुष्यदेहोपभोग्य - सुखसमूह<sup>3</sup>सरोजावली<sup>4</sup>प्रकाशनाखण्डगगनमण्डन<sup>5</sup> - दिनकरेषु, <sup>6</sup>  
सहोदरस्नेहविजित-युधिष्ठिरार्जुन-बलोपवासव-रामलक्ष्मणाश्विनीकुमार - कृतानन्द -  
गोष्ठीपरिरञ्जितसमा<sup>7</sup> समाज<sup>8</sup> श्लाघ्य - सत्कीर्तिसम्भूत - सुधाकरकिरणधवली - <sup>9</sup>  
विहित<sup>10</sup>-त्रिलोकीमण्डलेषु, निरतिशयजगद्गुरुह<sup>11</sup>-दुःखव्यूह<sup>12</sup>परिशीलित<sup>13</sup>-विविध-  
चिन्तालतावेष्टिताधर्मगहनोत्पाटनसमर्थ-बाहुयुगलेषु, परमस्नेहपात्र-शुद्धान्तः-  
करणामुकेषु<sup>14</sup>, सदाज्ञाकार्यामुकस्याशिषां/नतीनाम् अप्यगणितराशयः ॥ १ ॥

ii. <sup>15</sup>पद्यप्रशस्ती

स्वस्ति श्रीसहजानुरागविलसत्<sup>16</sup>स्फूर्जद्यशश्चन्द्रमा-  
हस्तोन्मृष्टमहासितद्युतिवर<sup>17</sup>त्रैलोक्यभूमिष्वलम् ।

धर्मोपायसमार्जिताव्ययधनव्यामोहमुक्तेष्वित-

श्चञ्चन्तु प्रतिवासरं मम नतीनां सादराः पङ्क्तयः ॥ १ ॥

- 
1. B<sub>1.2.4</sub> लभ्यप्राण, corrupt.
  2. A<sub>1</sub> जाताभिमान ; B<sub>1.4</sub> माना, corrupt.
  3. A. B<sub>3</sub> सुसमूह
  4. Mss. corrupt : B<sub>1-4</sub> सराजीव ( B<sub>4</sub> om. व )
  5. B<sub>4</sub> मण्डल
  6. A<sub>3</sub> दिक्करेषु
  7. A<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>1.3.4</sub> सभा for समा
  8. B<sub>4</sub> समाज
  9. A<sub>1</sub> किरणावली
  10. A<sub>1</sub> विजित
  11. A<sub>1</sub> जगद्गुरुह ; A<sub>2</sub> om. the word ; A<sub>3</sub> जगद्गुरुह
  12. A<sub>1.3</sub> om. व्यूह
  13. B<sub>1.2.5</sub> शीलन ; B<sub>4</sub> शील
  14. B<sub>4</sub> करणेषु
  15. B<sub>5</sub> drops the poetic section.
  16. A<sub>1</sub> विचल ; A विमला ; A<sub>3</sub> विमल
  17. A<sub>2</sub> धर for व



स्वस्ति श्रीमन्महत्प्रीतिपरिपालितकीर्तिषु ।  
सुहृद्भ्रातृषु मे नित्यमाशिषां राशयः पराः ॥ २ ॥

iii. कुशललेखनप्रकारः

वर्ततेऽत्र कुशलं रमापतेर्नीरजाक्ष<sup>1</sup>चरणप्रसादतः ।  
वाञ्छति प्रतिदिनं मनस्तव स्वान्तसौख्य ! विधिवद्<sup>2</sup> विधायकम् ॥

iv. पत्रलेखनोपालम्भप्रकारः

स्वकीयवृत्ताङ्कित<sup>3</sup>पत्रमद्भुतं सहोदरप्रीतिसुखप्रकाशनम् ।  
मनोनुरागारुणसुन्दरं परं न चात्र सम्प्रेषितमित्यलौकिकम् ॥

॥ इति आतृविषयः ॥

1. A नीरजाम्

2. A सद् for वद्

3. B मुद्राङ्कित



XV. ग्रन्थोपसंहारः

<sup>1</sup>इयं प्रशस्तिकाशिका समस्तदुःखनाशिका ।

रसज्ञतुष्टये कृता त्रिपाठि-बालकृष्णकैः ॥ १ ॥

<sup>2</sup>आसीदेको द्विजेन्द्रः सकलगुणनिधिः पारदेशे सरय्या-  
श्चञ्चत्पृथ्वीपमौलिप्रकटितचरणश्चारु-गोरक्षकर्मा<sup>3</sup> ।

सिद्धः सर्वज्ञबुद्धिर्जगति लघु जगन्नाथविख्यातपत्रः<sup>4</sup>(?)

शाण्डिल्यः कञ्चनाख्यप्रथितपरलसद्भाम<sup>5</sup>भूमौ गरीयान् ॥२॥

तद्वंशे बलभद्र एव विदितः पाण्डित्यभाष्योदयाद्

धर्मिष्ठः परदारकञ्चनपर<sup>6</sup>द्रोहातिरिक्तः स्वयम् ।

श्रीविश्वेश्वरजाह्नवीपदयुगध्यानैकवद्धस्पृहः

काश्यामात्मकुलोद्भवैः सह सुखं वासं चकार क्षमी ॥३॥

तत्पुत्रः काशिनाथः कमलदल<sup>7</sup>विशालेक्षणः शुद्धधर्मा

श्रीमद्रामैकभक्तिप्रकटितमहिमा सर्वविद्यार्थवेत्ता ।

सन्मार्गोपायलब्धद्रविणवितरणप्राप्त्यकीर्तिः समन्तात्

काशीनाथप्रभावः <sup>8</sup>सकलभयहरः कामनाकल्पवृक्षः ॥ ४ ॥

तद्भ्रात्रा रचिता ह्येषा सुप्रशस्तिप्रकाशिका ।

त्रिपाठि-बालकृष्णेन परोपकृतिहेतवे ॥ ५ ॥

1. B<sub>5</sub> drops the verses.
2. Only A<sub>2,3</sub> contain the biographical verses, 2 ff.
3. A<sub>3</sub> शर्मा for कर्मा
4. A<sub>2,3</sub> Last two letters not clear ; reads पत्रः or पन्तः
5. A<sub>2</sub> भूति for धाम
6. A<sub>2</sub> drops पर
7. A<sub>1</sub> Hapl. om. of विशा to पाया, two lines below.
8. A<sub>2</sub> Last folio containing the further portion last.



यथा हि नलिनीनाथो दीपेनैकेन तोषितः ।

अपराधो महानेषः क्षन्तुमर्हन्ति पण्डिताः ॥ ६ ॥

यत्र क्वापि भवेदत्र दूषणं बुद्धिविभ्रमात् ।

तन्निकास्य प्रकुर्वन्तु पण्डिताः साधु भूषणम् ॥ ७ ॥

॥ इति श्री-त्रिपाठिबालकृष्ण-विरचिता<sup>1</sup>

प्रशस्तिकाशिका<sup>2</sup>

समाप्ता<sup>3</sup> ॥

1. B<sub>2-5</sub> कृता for विरचिता ; B<sub>4</sub> om. श्री to विरचिता

2. A<sub>1</sub> प्रशस्तिका ; A<sub>2</sub> प्रशस्तिप्रकाशिका

3. A<sub>1</sub> adds : शुभं भवतु । लेखकपाठकयोर्मध्ये कल्याणमस्तु । श्री विक्रमपुरमध्ये लिपीकृतम् । हरिः ओँ तत्सत् ॥

A<sub>2</sub> समाप्तम् । सम्पूर्णमस्तु । श्रीकृष्णः ।

B<sub>1</sub>. gives also the date of transcription (A. D. 1743) and the name of the scribe, Lakṣmīnātha. The colophon reads :

इति श्री सरससदस्योपनामक-कृष्णभट्टात्मज-लक्ष्मीनाथकृत (लिखित ?) प्रशस्तिकाशिका समाप्ता । संवत् १७९९ शके १६६४ अङ्गिरससंवत्सरे आषाढकृष्ण १२ शुके लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं लक्ष्मीनाथेन स्वार्थं परार्थं च । श्री-निरञ्जनानन्दनाथ श्री गुरुचरणारविन्दाभ्यां नमः । श्रीरस्तु ॥

Then, in different ink and in different hand, written are two cāṭu-ślokaś :

तिलपुष्पात् समायाति वायुश्चन्दनसन्निभः ।

इन्दीवरयुगाच्चित्रं निस्सरन्ति शिलीमुखाः ॥

अत्र तिलपुष्पं नासिका । इन्दीवरयुगं नेत्रयुगम् । शिलीमुखाः कटाक्षाः । तत्तत्साम्यादित्यर्थः ।

लतामूले लीने हरिणपरिहीनो हिमकरः

स्फुरन्मुक्ताकारा निपतति च धारा कुवल्यात् ।

धुनीते बन्धूकं तिलकुसुमजन्मापि पवनो

गृहद्वारे पुण्यं परिणमति कस्यापि कृतिनः ॥

B<sub>5</sub> has a post-colophonic statement indicating the number of श्री-s to be prefixed to epistles to different persons, and the date of transcription of the manuscript as A.D. 1866 :

षड् गुरोः, स्वामिनः पञ्च, द्वे भृत्ये, द्विगुणो रिपौ ।

श्रीशब्दानां, त्रयं मित्रे, एकैकं- पुत्रभार्ययोः ॥



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(Panjab, India)

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## VEDIC TEXTUO-LINGUISTIC STUDIES

VISHVA BANDHU

5. UCCARAT > UCCARAT

The extant Vedic text-tradition records the following variants of one of its constituent verses :

- (i) तच् चक्षुर देवहितं, शुक्रम उच्-चरत् ।  
पश्येम शरदः शतं, जीवेम शरदः शतम् ॥ *RV* VII, 66, 16.
- (ii) तच् चक्षुर् देवहितं, पुरस्ताच् शुक्रम उच्-चरत् ।  
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × × ॥ (*SV*) *GG* III, 8, 5.
- (iii) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।  
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, श्रु(?श्रु)णुया(?या)म<sup>1</sup> × × ॥  
*VSK* XXXVI, 24.
- (iv) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत्<sup>2</sup> ।  
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, प्रब्रवाम × ×, श्रुणु(?णु)याम<sup>3</sup> × ×  
*MS* IV, 9, 20.
- (v) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।  
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × × श्रु(?श्रु)णुयाम\* × ×, प्रब्रवाम × ×  
अदीनाः स्याम × ×, भूयश्च × शतात् ॥ *VS* XXXVI, 24;  
*MG* I, 22, 11.
- (vi) तच् × ×, × × उच्-चरत् ।  
पश्येम × ×, जीवेम × ×, नन्दाम × ×, मोदाम × ×,  
भवाम × ×, श्रुण्वाम × ×, प्रब्रवाम × ×, अजीताः स्याम × ×,  
ज्योक् च सूर्य दशे ॥  
*TA* IV, 42, 5 ; *APMB* II, 5, 12-21 ; *HG* I, 7, 10.

1. Cf. fn. 3 *infra* for another traditionally transmitted accentual corruption in this verbal form.

2. Read by all but one known Mss. (as well as by Schroeder and Sātavalekar in their editions). The reading *uc-carat* of the said one exceptional Ms. seems to have been the result of later scriptorial confusion.

3. So corrected by Schroeder. Sātavalekar follows the Ms. in reading °णु°.



(vii) पश्येम × × ॥१॥ जीवेम × × ॥२॥ बुध्येम × × ॥३॥ रोहेम  
 × × ॥४॥ पुषेम<sup>4</sup> × × ॥५॥ भवेम × × ॥६॥ भूवेम<sup>5</sup> × × ॥७॥  
 भूयसीः × शतात् ॥८॥ AV XIX, 67, 1-8.

The RV variant may be rendered as follows : 'May we see for a hundred years that brilliant eye, the source of light to gods,<sup>6</sup> arise.<sup>7</sup> May we live for a hundred years.'

4. Thus read after Sāyaṇa, by Pāṇḍuraṅga and Sūtavalekar ; Roth and Whitney read *puṣyema*.

5. Thus read by Roth and Whitney ; Pāṇḍuraṅga and Sūtavalekar follow Sāyaṇa in reading *bhūyema*.

6. Cf. RV I, 115, 1, praising Sūrya as the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni. The abstract noun (√dhā>) *hitā-* is accordingly taken here in the sense of 'light' (cf. *dhāman-* for this sense of the radical). The intended meaning might also possibly be 'the source of good or delight to gods', √dhā (√=hi) being taken in the sense of 'protection, support, joy or good in general.' According to either explanation, the word *devāhitā-* is to be construed as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, in which the first member retains its accent (cf. Pā. VI, 2, 1). Or, it may be a case of a dative *tatpuruṣa* compound (cf. Pā. II, 1, 36) in which the second member has the active and not the abstract significance and the first member retains the accent (cf. Pā. VI, 2, 45). It is also to be mentioned that while Sāyaṇa's gloss *devānām hitam* aiming at explaining the word as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound cannot be accentually tenable (cf. Pā. VI, 1, 223), his alternative explanation, *devena hitam* (i.e., god-established) matching with and following Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's gloss '*devair nihitam*', taking the word as an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound is, however, accentually as well as semantically quite acceptable (cf. Pā. VI, 2, 48). Compare *divīva cakṣur ātatam* (RV I, 22, 20) which likewise speaks of the Sun as an eye fixed in the sky, the radical √tan here denoting the act of 'fixing'; (cf. also, *tanti*, *tantu-*, *tantra-*). (For this construction of *deva-hitam*, cf. the following passages also :

व्यशेम देवहितं यदायुः । RV 1, 89, 8 ; अया वाजं देवहितं सनेम । RV 6, 17, 15 ; जरा वै देवहितमायुः । MS 1, 7, 5 ; KS 9, 2 ; नाना हि वां देवहितं सदस्कृतम् । VS 19, 7 ; KS 21, 16 ; MS 2, 3, 8 ; सायं प्रातर्वै मनुष्याणां देवहितमशनम् । MS 3, 6, 6).

7. *uc-carat* is accusative neuter singular of the composite present participial base *uc-carat-* (<ud√car 'move' [cf. Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava's gloss *ud-yat*]). It retains the accent of the second *kṛt* member *carat-* (cf. Pā. VI, 2, 139). Sāyaṇa's rendering of it as a finite verb (= *ud-gacchati*) is wrong, because, in that case, the accent should have been on the preceding prepositional component and the following verbal component should have lost its accent (cf. Pā. VIII, 1, 28). Sāyaṇa's gloss on the corresponding verse in TA (i.e., variant vi), however, correctly renders the participial form *uc-carat* by *udayaṁ gacchat* and construes it, accordingly, as an adjective qualifying the pronoun *tat* which, standing for the sun (*Ādityamaṇḍalam*), is the object of the verb *gacchat*.



The *RV* hymn under reference here consists of nineteen verses. It is in praise of Mitra and Varuṇa in its first three as well as the last three verses, and of Ādityas in the ten verses, 4-13 and of Sūrya alone in the remaining three verses, 14-16. While all the six verses addressed to Mitra and Varuṇa and also six out of the ten in praise of Ādityas, to wit, the verses 4-9, are in *Gāyatrī* metre (8+8:8), the remaining seven, namely, the verses, 10-16 are in mixed measures, the first six (*i.e.* 10-15) constituting a double *Pragātha* in the scheme of *Bṛhatī* (8+8:12+8), *Sato-bṛhatī* (12+8:12+8), *Bṛhatī*: *Sato-bṛhatī*, *Bṛhatī*, *Sato-bṛhatī* and the last, namely, the verse 16 being a *Purāṇi* (12:8+8).

The last-named verse (*i.e.* 16) being thus metrically isolated and, therefore, ill-fitting in the otherwise quite regular scheme obtaining in

It seems that *√car* may have to be taken here in the sense of 'shining' instead of 'rising' (*i.e.* 'moving'), the preposition *ud* being used as an emphatic adjunct to the radical sense, and not in the sense of 'upwards'. The following parallel passages, wherein, also, *√car* 'shine' occurs, participially, may be cited in support of this view: *ज्योक् पश्यत् सूर्यमुच्चरन्तम्* (*RV* IV, 25, 4), *पश्येम नु सूर्यमुच्चरन्तम्* (*RV* VI, 52, 5; X, 59, 4), *मा ते ददन्तसूर्यमुच्चरन्तम्* (*RV* VII, 104, 24), *ज्योक् पश्येम सूर्यमुच्चरन्तम्* (*RV* X, 59, 6). Besides these citations, here are a few more, which illustrate the use of *√car* in the sense of 'shining': *उद् यस्य ते नवजातस्य वृष्णोऽग्ने चरन्त्यजरा दधानाः* (*RV* VII, 3, 3 [where *ajara-* is a substantive and denotes a 'flame', *cf.*, also, *RV* II, 8, 4; III, 18, 2; VI, 5, 4; 6, 2; 68, 9; X, 87, 20 for its similar use and sense]), *भोजेन्वस्मौ अभ्युच्चरा मुदा* (*RV* VIII, 25, 21), *अहंल्यन्नुच्चरसि स्वध्या अनु* (*RV* X, 37, 5), *यान् सूर्यामासा मिथ उच्चरातः* (*RV* X, 68, 10), *पिनाकं विभ्रदागहि कृत्ति वसाना उच्चर* (*MS* II, 9, 9), *कृत्ति नसान उच्चर पिनाकं विभ्रदुच्चर* (*KS* XVII, 16), *अमुमेवादित्यमुच्चारं कुरुते* (*TS* II, 3, 12, 2). On the other hand, the following passages may be cited to show that where *ud√car* is used in the sense of 'moving up', it is invariably accompanied by the indication of ablatively used object or position, from where the upward motion starts: *या नु श्वेतावतो* ('from below') *दिव उच्चरात उप द्युभिः* (*RV* VIII, 40, 8), *ऊर्ध्वो विन्दुरुदचरद् ब्रह्मणः ककुदादधि* (*ŚS* X, 10, 19), *एकं पादं नोत्खिदति सलिलादंस उच्चरन्* (*ŚS* XI, 6, 21), *यास्समुद्रादुच्चरन्ति* (*PS* VII, 13, 12). Evidently, in a context like the one forming the main subject of the present discussion, the object prayed for would be that one may be able to see the sun rising, in other words, be able to continue to live for a long time.

This *√car* 'shine' may be described as having developed from *√vas* 'shine' (*Pā. Dhā.* II, 70) > *\*(va) śvara-* > *\*śvara-* > *\*śvar-* > *\*(cvar-)* *\*cara* *nd*, as such, being an ultimately cognate variant of (*√vas* '\*shine') > *√svr* 'shine' (*Pā. Dhā.* I, 957).



the rest of the hymn, naturally, becomes an object of text-critical suspicion. And, on the basis of the above analysis, it might be permissible to suggest that, originally, it was also a *Gāyatrī* which very well fitted in with the general metrical scheme of the hymn, there being a central *Pragātha*, preceded as well as followed by a number of *Gāyatrīs*. This suggestion may be said to be indirectly supported by the traditional *aṣṭaka*-wise text-division which includes this verse along with the last three *Gāyatrīs* in the same *varga* sub-division. That the first two *pādas* as read at present syntactically constitute one simple sentence *i.e.*, तद् देवहितं शुक्रम् उच्चरत् चक्षुः शतं शरदः पश्येम<sup>8</sup> would appear further to strengthen the above suggestion in that they might originally have read as तच् चक्षुः शुक्रम् उच्चरत्, पश्येम शरदः शतम् and, in this way, constituted a regular first *Gāyatrī* hemistich, leaving the third *pāda* *jīvema*<sup>o</sup> to form a regular second *Gāyatrī* hemistich to be construed as an independent sentence. Thus, then, what was originally a *Gāyatrī* might have resulted under the combined impact of the preceding *Sato-bṛhatī* and the following *Gāyatrī* measures into the present *Puraḥ-uṣṇik*, further development into the full *Sato-bṛhatī* form having been arrested after the first *pāda* had become enlarged through the in-take of the adjective *deva-hitam*.

May be, the original *Gāyatrī* was, preferably, as follows :

तच् चक्षुर् देवहितं, पुरस्ताच् छुक्रम् उच्चरत् । पश्येम शरदः शतम् ॥

While the entire array of the above-cited *SV (GG)* and *Śukla* as well as *Kṛṣṇa YV* text-tradition points to the original presence of the adverb *purastāt* at the head of the second *pāda*, the syntactical integrity, in this structure, of the entire verse constituting one simple sentence with the object *cakṣuḥ* along with its adjectival adjuncts being contained in the first two *pādas* and the subject-inclusive predicate being supplied by the third *pāda* considerably adds to the support in favour of this hypothesis. And, the first *pāda* being too short by one syllable need hardly stand in its way, for, this defect, the so-called *Nicṛt* phenomenon

---

8. Cf. Sāyaṇa's difficulty is that he had to read, a second time, the word *tat* (*i.e.*, *cakṣuḥ*) and, this time, arbitrarily in the accusative case, to supply an object to the transitive verb *paśyema*, to be construed as a separate sentence, embodying an auto-suggestive, or prayerful expression of the universal longing for longevity.



of the ancient prosodists,<sup>9</sup> is frequently met with in Veda (cf., e.g., the verses 1, 3, 8, 9 and 17 and, in particular, the verse 2 of the *RV* hymn under present reference).<sup>10</sup>

Following this hypothesis, it seems that the third *pāda* of the present *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* version (*jīvema*<sup>o</sup>) was the last to emerge on the scene, being an apt summary of the entire original *Gāyatrī*. In other words, it first came as a pithy gloss in that the prayer that we may see the sun arise for a hundred years simply means that we may live for a hundred years. But as soon as it got fixed up in its present position giving the quadruped *Anuṣṭubh* character to the verse, metrical repercussion was set up towards restoration of the *status quo*, namely the original tri-ped character of the verse. It was at this stage that under the influence of the preceding *Sato-bṛhatī*, the first *Gāyatrī* hemistich was reduced to the present 12-syllable *pāda*, the adverb *purastāt* suffering itself to be easily elbowed out without any disturbance being felt in the general sense of the verse. This should have been a hint to the next *pāda* (*paśyema*<sup>o</sup>) to cross over to the first hemistich on account of its syntactical connection with the same, but, it seems, the process of modelling up of this verse after the *Sato-bṛhatī* pattern came to a stop here and it was left where it is at present owing to its close structural affinity with the following *pāda* (*jīvema*<sup>o</sup>) which, as said above, being of glossal nature was here only as an extraneous entrant. And so, the middle *pāda* was left oscillating, syntactically, being a continuation of the first *pāda* (and hemistich) and, structurally, being the model on which the third (and last) *pāda* came to be fashioned and tagged on.

9. Cf. *Piṅg.* III, 59; *Nidānasūtra* I, 6, 1; *Ṛk-Sarvānukramanī* I, 3, 3; *Śukla YV Anukramanikā* V, 1.

10. The metrical deficiency in the *pāda taccakṣur*<sup>o</sup> has evidently to be made good for by expanding, through *svarabhakti*, the bi-syllabic *cakṣur* into the tri-syllabic *\*cakasur*. This may be taken as a pointer to the mono-syllabic *√cakṣ* 'appear' (*Pā. Dhā.* II, 7) having originated, through syncopation (*upadhālopa*), from the bi-syllabic *√\*cakas* which was a variant, of lower grade, of the bi-syllabic *√cakās* 'shine' (*Pā. Dhā.* II, 64), both the radicals representing, respectively, the denominative verbal uses of the abstract nouns *cakas-* and *cakās-*, derived from the *√cak* '\*shine' (cf. *cākacakya-* 'brilliance'). For the two grades of the derivatives, cf. the agent nouns *uṣas-* and *uṣās-* < *√uṣ* 'shine.



From the above point of view, the *SV* (*GG*) version of the text, under reference above, may be said to represent that archaic stage at which the last glossal *pāda* (*jīvēma°*) had already taken up its present position but the process of metrical interaction had not yet set in. Therefore, it is easy enough to see how on account of its having been separated from the *RV* context at this stage and, in consequence, freed from the imminent impact of the original *Sato-bṛhatī cum Gāyatrī* axis, the verse has been preserved for us in its *SV* (*GG*) version at the *Anuṣṭubh* stage, emerging prior to the *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* redaction of the present *RV* version. In other words, the *SV* (*GG*) version of the verse, under reference above, represents an earlier stage of the Vedic text-tradition than the one represented by its *RV* version.<sup>11</sup>

The adjectival participle *uc-carat* originally served the purpose of the third *pāda* (*paśyema°*) being syntactically linked up with the first hemistich. That this textual complexion was maintained in the later *RV* *Puraḥ-uṣṇik* redaction points to its having been so, as a matter of course, in the earlier *SV* (*GG*) *Anuṣṭubh* extension. Accordingly, it should be quite plausible to surmise that the *SV* text-tradition, also, had read, as in *RV*, the participial form *uccarat*. In both cases, the additional glossal *pāda* (*jīvēma°*) naturally, had a loose stringing up with the rest of the verse. This circumstance might have led to the practice of making a longer *yati* (caesura) than usual between the two *pādas* of the second hemistich (*paśyema°* and *jīvēma°*), bringing about a baffling situation from the point of view of metrical organisation. Therefore, when the close structural affinity between these two *pādas* helped in the matter of their juxtaposition being maintained, a sort of semantic alliance seems to have grown up between them, the verb *paśyema* becoming intransitive in the sense of using the eyes for the visual act and the verb *jīvēma* denoting its original meaning, namely, the use of the nose for the act of drawing in the vital breath.

11. It is necessary to employ this inferential method because the *SV* (*GG*) version has unfortunately come down to us without the accent marks which alone could have been the proper determining factor in this matter.



The *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla YV* versions, cited above as the variants (iv) and (v), represent the stage of textual development when the new internal semantic alignment of the two members of the second hemistich compelled the first hemistich, which had thus been left in the lurch, to take care of itself by suffering the participial *uc-carat* to be slowly transformed into the finite verb *uc-carat* in order that it could now establish itself as an independent syntactical unit. And, this in its turn, had its own repercussion on the second hemistich which now began to feel itself free to project forward without taking into consideration any kind of its organic relationship with the first hemistich. It was in some such way that six new *pādas* modelled after the two *pādas*, *paśyema°* and *jīvema°*, gradually came into being and began to be read along with them, each being an independent syntactical unit. The variant (vii) may be said to represent the last stage of textual development when the *paśyema°* series of eight *pādas* had already been set up, in their own right, as autonomous prayer-units without there being left behind anything reminiscent of the original first hemistich *tac cakṣur°*.

In the light of the above text-sequential analysis, the *Kāṇva YV* version, cited above as the variant (iii), reading the participle *uc-carat* in the first hemistich and also permitting the springing up of the new *pāda śṛṇuyāma°* as an extension of the second hemistich may possibly represent, indeed, if the reading could be depended upon, the transitional stage when the *pāda paśyema°* still possessed some syntactical link with the first hemistich even though the verb had started being construed intransitively, thus preparing the ground for the emergence and acceptance of the new additional *pāda śṛṇuyāma°*. But because the verb *śṛṇuyāma* lacks that general glossal capacity which is possessed by the verb *jīvema* in the present context, it is probable that it appeared only after the verb *paśyema* had finally broken away from the first hemistich and become well established in its intransitive significance. Obviously, then, the *Kāṇva* reading *uc-carat* may have to be treated as an accentual suspect and the predicative accent may have to be substituted for the participial one. What has been said above regarding



the unreliability of the participial accent, as traditionally read, in *uccarat* in the variant (iii), should apply, with greater force, to the identical reading of the said form in *TA* (i.e., the variant vi) which, as is well known, has come down to us in an extremely corrupt state of accentuation marks. This is, indeed, borne out by the redactors, who swelled up the text of the variant (vi) beyond all recognition, having tagged, at the end, the *pāda jyok ca sūryam dṛṣe* which, practically, repeated the same prayer as had originally been conveyed by the *pāda paśyema śaradaḥ śatam* when it used to be grammatically integrated with first hemistich. Evidently, the said redactors had become entirely oblivious of the grammatical integrity of the said original first and second hemistiches.

It is true that Bhaṭṭabhāskara and Sāyaṇa had the participial form before them when they commented upon the text, but this might only indicate the antiquity of the text-corruption in question. Moreover, Sāyaṇa who, as indicated above, had palpably blundered in rendering the uncontroverted participial form *uccarat* of *RV* (i.e., variant i) as a finite verb (i.e., *ud-gacchati*), could hardly be held to be reliable enough to hold the balance towards deciding the issue here. Anyway, the *TA* tradition (i.e., variant vi) continued to contain what may be termed as the last reminiscence of the original first hemistich *taccakṣu*° and the original second hemistich *paśyema*° being read together.

The shift of accent, in the present case, from the earlier *uccarat* to the later *uccarat* seems to have represented a shift of interest in actual life. While the earlier *uc-carat* of *RV* and *SV* invites one to enjoy the romantic ecstasy and feel the lyrical urge, being the real nectar of life, *uccarat* of *YV* simply wants one to note that it is time that one started the round of religious duties with the daily prayers. In a word, the poet has retired in favour of the priest. Thus, this kind of textual variation is to be studied as a historical index to a long evolutionary process in the field of semantics and its socio-psychological background and is not to be brushed aside



as a mere dialectic aberration, easily amenable to the usual canons of emendation. While one must be grateful to the countless generations of the Vedic priests for all that they have done to preserve the Vedic lore through the ages, one cannot help expressing one's deep grief at the irretrievable loss of the huge mass of text-data, including the accentuation of a large number of even the extant works.<sup>12</sup>

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12. It is nothing short of a stroke of misfortune for science that Bloomfield's *Concordance* in registering the accented Vedic texts without their accent-marks cannot give proper lead in a study like this which, as shown above, so much depends on accentual evaluation of those texts.



ON *RGVEDA* 5. 45. 1 and 2. 24. 14

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Hymn 5. 45 of the *Rgveda* has the All-gods (Viśvedevas) for deity. Its first verse, which is explained diversely by the exegetists, reads as follows :

वि॒दा दि॒वो वि॒ष्वन्न॒दि॒मुक्थैरा॒य॒त्या उ॒पसो॑ अ॒र्चिनो॑ गुः ।  
अ॒पा॒वृ॒त व्र॒जि॒नो॒रु॒ह॒स्वर्गा॒दि दुरो॑ मा॒नु॒षी॒दे॒व आ॒वः ॥

Sāyana explains the verse thus :

अत्राङ्गिरसां पणिभिरपहृत्य गिरिरेधः स्थापितानां गवामिन्द्रेण विमोकः प्रतिपाद्यते । विदाः अवेद्यदिन्द्रः । किम् । गा निगूढा इति सम्बन्धः । किं कुर्वन् । उक्थैः अङ्गिरसां स्तुतिभिर्निमित्तभूगाभिः अदिं वज्रं विष्यन् प्रक्षिपन् । रक्षकाणामुपरि गिरिभेदनाय च विष्यन् । आयत्याः आनामिन्याः उपसः सम्बन्धिनः अर्चिनः रश्मयः गुः अगच्छन् सर्वत्र प्रसृता अभवन् । अपावृत अपावृणोन् व्रजिनीः तमः पुञ्जवतीर्निशाः । स्वः स्वरणशीलः आदित्यः उत् गात् उदगात् । तथा कृत्वा मानुषीः मनुष्यसम्बन्धिनीः दुरः द्वाराणि देवः सूर्यः वि आवः व्यवृणोत् । अन्धकारावनयनेन मनुष्यादिव्यवहारायाकरोदित्यर्थः ।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava explains the verse thus :

“अहर्देवानामासीद् रात्रिरसुराणाम् । तेऽसुरा यद् दशानाम् अचित्तमवेद्यमासीत् तेन सह रात्रिं प्राविशन् ” इति ब्राह्मणम् । तत्रेदं सूक्तं प्रवर्तते । हे स्तोत्रः ! स्तोत्रैः शिलोच्चयं विमुञ्चन् । स्वर्गालोकाद् देवैः सह शिलोच्चयं लभस्व गच्छ प्रकाशीकरणार्थम् । आगच्छन्त्या उपसः दीप्तयश्च आगताः । तथा सूर्यश्च उदगात् । उद्गतश्च अपावृतवान् व्रजवतीः शिलोच्चयपरिवृता गाः । स्वरित्यादित्यनाम । तथा तमसा तिरोहिताः मानुषीश्च दुर देवः विवृतवान् इति ।

Grassmann renders pādas *abc* as : ‘With sagacity he opened the doors of heaven. He freed the cows, light came, there came the rays of approaching Dawn,’ and Ludwig as : ‘The knowers of heaven, in order to open the mountain, have come with hymns, the praisers of the coming Uṣas. He opened the doors of the pen, *svar* rose above.’

Oldenberg (*RV Noten* I, p. 342) observes that Grassmann’s reading of *vidā* (in pāda *a*) and Ludwig’s reading *vidāh*, are both possible, and, in support of the former, cites 1. 31. 8 : *śāktiḥ vā yāt te cakṛmā*



*vidā vā*. Further, with respect to *viśyān* he refers to *ZDMG* 55 (1901) 171 fn. 1 and 308, and observes that, in all probability, this word, (though singular) may be an attribute of the plural *arcīnaḥ*, though it is possible to regard it as an epithet of *Br̥haspati* understood. *Pādas ab* denote, according to him, 'Opening the rock with hymns, the knowers of heaven (or, *Br̥haspati* and the knowers of heaven) who are rich in flames, have gone at the approach of Dawn,' or 'With knowledge of heaven, opening the rock with hymns, they (or, *Br̥haspati*, opening the rock with hymns, and they), who are rich in flames, have gone at the approach of Dawn.' He opines that the hymn is a magic spell for making the sun appear after a period of incessant rain.

Geldner renders the verse thus: 'Thou shalt find the rock of heaven, opening (it) with thy hymns. They who praise the approaching Dawn have come. They have now set free the (cows shut in the) pen, the sun has come out. The god has opened the doors of men.' He agrees with Grassmann and Oldenberg that the sun's appearance spoken of here is not the usual daily appearance of the sun, but his appearance after a long period of rains and cloudy sky. He observes: "The rainy season is referred to again and again, 2c, 10, 11. It is thus easy to think of it as parallel to the Vala myth, and the poet does, in fact, dress his hymn mostly in the phraseology of that myth (as is done in 3. 31. 20). It is indicated more than once that the present prayer is the same as that which formerly worked wonders for the *Āṅgirasas* and on other occasions."

Prof. Paul Thieme (*ZDMG* 101 (1947) 417) renders the verse thus: 'There (has come) (the poet), he who, with knowledge (*vidā*), by means of hymns has sundered the heavenly rock, there have come the singers (*i.e.*, bards) of the approaching Dawn (sundering the rock in which she was confined). The doors of the dungeon are opened, the sun has risen. One who is heavenly has opened the doors that are friendly to men.' He explains in the footnotes that *vidā* (in *pāda a*) is a contraction of *vidā ā* and that *arcīnaḥ* (in *pāda b*) is a *kṛt*-formation from the root *arc* which denotes 'to sing' and also 'to shine'.

The above interpretations are all more or less unsatisfactory. I do not agree with Grassmann, Oldenberg and Geldner that the verse refers to the appearance of the sun after a long period of rain. On the other hand, I agree with Sāyaṇa that it speaks of the delivery of the cows that were confined by the *Paṇis* in the cave of Vala. As I have pointed out elsewhere (*Adyar Library Bulletin*, 28 (1964) 55-111) there were confined in the cave of Vala not only the cows stolen by the *Paṇis*,



but also the Waters (rivers), Uṣas, Agni, sun, moon, etc. ; and the delivery of the cows after the shattering of the cave was accompanied by the setting free of Uṣas (i.e., making Uṣas dawn), of the sun (making the sun rise in the sky), of the other beings confined therein, and also by the separation, extension, propping up and steadying of earth and heaven that had been in a huddle. This shattering of the cave of Vala is ascribed in the *R̥gveda* verses to the Aṅgirasas, to Indra, to Brhaspati, to Agni, to Uṣas, or to more than one of these working in association. The instrument employed by them was a spell (*mantra*) of truth (*satya*, *satyo mantrah*, *ṛtam*).

The meaning of the verse is : 'Thou (Indra) hast obtained (i.e., set free) for heaven (i.e., for the sons of heaven, the Aṅgirasas) (Uṣas, cows and sun) (after) unbinding (i.e., splitting open) the rock(-cave) by means of mantras. There have come out the rays of the approaching Dawn. He has revealed (i.e., set free) those (viz., the cows) that were in the pen; the sun has gone up. The god has opened the doors of men.'

The first word in pāda *a* is not *vidā* (Thieme, Oldenberg, Grassmann) but *vidāḥ* (*Padapāṭha*, Sāyaṇa). This *vidāḥ* is not nominative plural (Ludwing, Oldenberg), nor third person singular (Sāyaṇa), but second person singular (Geldner). It is formed, not from the root *vid* 'to know' but from the root *vid* 'to find, to obtain' which is met with frequently in verses relating to the Vala myth. Compare, for instance, 10.68.9: *sóṣām avindat sá svāḥ só agnim*, 'He, (Brhaspati) obtained (i.e., set free) Uṣas, the sun (and) Agni'; 7.76.4: *gūlham̐ jyótiḥ pitáro ánv avindant satyámantrā ajanayann uṣāsam*, 'The Fathers (i.e., the Aṅgirasas) found the luminary (the sun) that had been hidden; having (i.e., employing) mantras of truth, they engendered Uṣas'; 3.39.5: *Indro daśábhīr dāśagvaiḥ s̐ryam̐ viveda támasi kṣiyántam*, 'With the ten Daśagvas, Indra obtained (set free) the sun who was staying in darkness.'

As objects of *vidāḥ*, we have to understand Uṣas, the cows and the sun that are mentioned in pādas *b* and *c*.

*divaḥ* is to be construed, not with *adrim* but with *vidāḥ*; it has here the sense of the dative *dive* which is in fact used in 2.24.14: *yó gā udājat sá divé vī cābhajat*, '(Brhaspati) who drove out the cows allotted them to heaven,' which too speaks of the delivery of the cows from the cave of Vala but ascribes the feat to Brhaspati. Compare also *divaḥ* in 1.30.3: *ávindad divó nihitam̐ gūhā nidhīm̐ vér ná gárgham̐ párivitam̐ áśmany ananté antár áśmani*, 'He (Indra) obtained for heaven the treasure that had been deposited in the cave, that was hidden, like



the bird's brood, in the rock(-cave), in the endless rock(-cave), which too refers to the shattering of the cave of Vala but ascribes the feat to Indra. Compare, likewise, *dyubhakta* in 1.73.6 :

ऋतस्य हि धेनवो वावशानाः मदीक्ष्णीः प्रीपयन्तु शुभं क्ताः ।  
परावतः सुमतिं भिक्षमाणा वि सिन्धवः समया ससुरदिम् ॥

'The cows of *ṛta* that were allotted to heaven (and) that had fine udders and were lowing, swelled with milk. Begging for favour from afar, the rivers broke out from the rock(-cave).' This verse too refers to the shattering of the cave of Vala ; it occurs in a hymn addressed to Agni and hence the delivery of cows seems to be, here, ascribed to Agni.

The word *dyu* (*div*) 'heaven' in all these verses denotes 'offspring of heaven', *divas putra*, i.e., troop (*gaṇa*) of Aṅgirasas. Compare 10.67.2 :

ऋतं शंसन्त ऋजु दीध्याना दिवस्पुत्रासो असुरस्य वीराः ।  
विभ्रं पदमङ्गिरसो दधाना यज्ञस्य धाम प्रथमं मनन्त ॥

'Intoning a (spell of) truth, thinking justly, the Aṅgirasas, sons of heaven, men of the Asura (Mighty One), they who held the office of priest, thought out first the law of the sacrifice'; 3.53.7 : *imé bhojā āngiraso vīrūpā divās putrāso āsurasya vīrāḥ*, 'These liberal ones are the Aṅgirasas, sons of heaven, men of the Asura, in another form' ; 4.2.15 : *divās putrā āngiraso bhavemādrim rujema dhanīnam śucāntaḥ*, 'May we become Aṅgirasas, sons of heaven, and split open with ardour the rock(-cave) containing riches.'

Compare also 8.14.8 : *ūd gā ājad āngirobhya āviṣkṛṇvān glūhā satīḥ arvāñcam nunude valām*, 'He (Indra) drove out, for the Aṅgirasas, the cows that were in the cave, revealing them ; he upset Vala' ; 8.63.3 : *sā vidvān āngirobhya indra gā avṛṇod āpa*, 'He, Indra, knowing, revealed the cows (i.e., opened the rock-cave containing the cows) for the Aṅgirasas' ; 1. 132. 4 :

नू ह्रुथा ते पूर्वथा च प्रवाच्यं यदङ्गिरोभ्योऽवृणोरेप ब्रजमिन्द्र शिक्षन्पे ब्रजम् ।

'It deserves to be talked of now and in times past that thou, Indra, didst open the cow-pen for the Aṅgirasas, helping (them) to the cow-pen' ; 1. 51. 3 : *ivām gotrām āngirobhyo 'vṛṇor āpa*, '(Indra), thou didst open the rock(-cave) for the Aṅgirasas.'

*ukthaiḥ*, 'with hymns', refers to the spell of truth employed by Indra to split open the cave of Vala. Compare : *satīnamanyuḥ* in 10. 112. 8 : *satīnāmanyur āsrathāyo ādrim* explained below.



*vrajinīh*, 'having a pen (for habitation)', refers to the cows confined in the rock(-cave) of Vala. The rock-cave is called *vraja* because it housed, (i.e., held in confinement), cows.

*devaḥ* in pāda *d* refers to the sun; 'opened the doors of men' refers to people on the earth rising and going outdoors on their business. Compare 7. 63. 4 :

दिवो रुक्म उरुचक्षा उदेति दूरे अर्थस्तरणिर्भोजमानः ।  
नूनं जनाः सूर्येण प्रसूता अयुक्ष्णीनि कृणवन्नपसि ॥

'The jewel of heaven (the sun) rises, observing widely, hastening to the distant goal, shining. Now, people, impelled by the sun set about their business, perform their tasks.'

Pādas *bcd* refer to the freeing from confinement of Uṣas, the cows and the sun.

Verse 2.24.14 reads as follows :

ब्रह्मणस्पतेरभवद्यथावशं सत्यो मन्त्युर्महि कर्मा करिष्यतः ।  
यो गा उदाजत्स दिवे वि चाभजन्महीव रीतिः शबसासरत् पृथक् ॥

Sāyaṇa explains it thus :

महि महत् कर्म करिष्यतः ब्रह्मणस्पतेः मन्त्युः मननसाधनो मन्त्रः क्रोधो वा यथावशं यथाकामं सत्यः अविद्यः अभवत् । स यथा कामयते तथा करोतीत्यर्थः । सः ब्रह्मणस्पतिः पणिभिरपहृताः गाः उदाजत् उदगमयत् । गुहाया निरगमयदित्यर्थः । सः ब्रह्मणस्पतिः दिवे द्युलोकाय तत्रत्येभ्यो देवेभ्य इत्यर्थः । वि अभजत् च ता गा विभक्ताश्चाकरोत् । स च गोसमूहः महीव रीतिः महती क्षुतिरिव । रीङ् स्वप्ने । यथा गङ्गादीनां स्रोतो विभक्तं सत् निम्नदेशाभिमुखं प्रसरति तथा शबसा आत्मीयेन बलेन तत्तद्देवगृहं पृथक् विभिन्नम् असरत् अगच्छत् ।

Grassmann renders the verse as : 'For the lord of prayers, his anger acted according to his wish, as he made himself ready to perform the great work. He drove out the cows and gave them to heaven. The great torrent gushed on all sides with force', Ludwig as : 'The rage of Brahmanaspati verified itself as desired when he wanted to accomplish the great work. He drove out the cows and allotted them to heaven. Like a great torrent it moved with force on all sides,' and Geldner as : 'Brahmanaspati's zeal attained fulfilment quite according to wish when he wanted to accomplish a great work, he who drove out the cows and allotted (them) to the heaven-world. Mighty like a great torrent ran (the herd) apart.'

I translate the verse as : 'The spell of truth of Brahmanaspati who was about to perform a great feat acted as desired. He who



drove out the cows gave (them) to (the sons of) heaven (i.e., to the Aṅgirasas). Like a mighty torrent (the cows) went forward swiftly with force ; the mighty torrent went forward swiftly with force.'

This verse too refers to the delivery of the cows that were confined in the cave of Vala. The feat is ascribed here to Brahmanaspati (Bṛhaspati). *manyuḥ* in pāda *b* denotes the mantra *satyo manyuḥ satyo mantrah*, 'spell of truth'. Compare 10.108.11 :

दूरमित् पण्यो वरीय उद्गावो यन्तु मिनतीर्कृतेन ।  
बृहस्पतिर्या अविन्दन्निगूढहाः सोमो ग्रावाण ऋषयश्च विप्राः ॥

'Go away, far away, Paṇis. Let the lowing cows come out, the cows which have been hidden and which, by means of a (spell of) truth, Bṛhaspati, Soma, the pressing-stones and the inspired seers (i.e., Aṅgirasas) have found (i.e., set free).' Compare also 10.47.6 : *prā sapātāgum ṛtādhītiṃ sumedhāṃ bṛhaspātiṃ matir ācchā jigāti*, '(Our) hymn of praise goes forth to Bṛhaspati who has seven cows (or seven hymns), has (i.e., employs) spells of truth and is sagacious,' where the epithet *ṛtadhiti* (i.e., *satyamantra*) is applied to Bṛhaspati.

The great work (*mahi karma*) mentioned in pāda *b* is the shattering of the cave of Vala, the setting free of the cows and other beings confined in it, etc.

*iva* in pāda *d* is equivalent to *yathā* ; it denotes not only comparison, but also a matter of fact.

*mahī rītiḥ* 'mighty torrent' refers to the waters (rivers) that were confined, like cows, in the rock-cave of Vala, and, like the cows, were set free and ran out swiftly. Compare 4.3.11-12 :

ऋतेनाद्रिं व्यसन् भिदन्तः समङ्गिरसो नवन्त गोभिः ।  
शुनं नरः परिषदन्नुषासमाविः स्वरभवज्जाते अग्नौ ॥  
ऋतेन देवीरमृता अमृता अर्णोभिरापो मधुमद्भिरग्ने ।  
वाजी न संगेषु प्रस्तुभानः प्र सदमित्तत्त्वितवे दधन्युः ॥

'By means of a (spell of) truth did they pierce the rock and hurl it afar ; the Aṅgirasas roared with the cows. Pleasingly (i.e., well) did the men beleaguer the Dawn ; the sun appeared when Agni was born. Because of the (spell of) truth, O Agni, may the divine, immortal, uninjuring (i.e., beneficent) waters flow for ever with sweet torrents (as swiftly) as a race-horse that is praised (i.e., encouraged by words) in races,' and 2.17.3 :

अधाकृणोः प्रथमं वीर्यं महद्यदस्याग्ने ब्रह्मणा शुष्ममैरयः ।  
रथेष्टनदधैरेण विद्युताः प्र जीवसः सिद्धये सध्याक् पृथक् ॥



'Then didst thou perform thy first valiant deed when, at the beginning, thou didst let out a roar with thy (truth) spell. Delivered by Indra who has bay horses and sits in a chariot, the rivers rush forward together impetuously.' Regarding the comparison, *cp.* 5.60.3 : *āpa iva sadhr̥yāñco dhavadhve*, 'You run together like waters', and 9.6.4 : *āpo nā pravātāsaran*, 'They moved swiftly like waters in an incline'.

With respect to *div* in *pāda c*, compare the observations above. *Cp.* also 1.101.5 : *yó viśvasya jāgataḥ prānatas pátir yó brahmāṇe prathamó gā ávindat*, 'Who (Indra) is the lord of all that moves and breathes, who obtained the cows first for the priest (*i.e.*, *Āngirases*)' and *Sāyaṇa's* explanation of *pāda b* :

यश्च ब्रह्मणे ब्राह्मणजातिभ्योऽङ्गिरोभ्यः प्रथमः अन्येभ्यो देवेभ्यः पूर्वभावी सन्  
पणिभिरपहृताः गाः अविन्दत् अलभत । अन्येभ्यो देवेभ्यः पूर्वमेव तैरसुरैर्युद्ध्वा गाः स्वयम-  
लभतेत्यर्थः ।

*Cp.* also 10.112.8 :

प्र त इन्द्र पूर्याणि प्र नूनं वीर्या वोचं प्रथमा कृतानि ।  
सतीनमन्युरश्रथायो अद्रिं सुवेदनामङ्गो ब्रह्मणे गाम् ॥

'Indra, I have praised thy valiant deeds which thou didst first perform now (and) in former times. Having (*i.e.*, employing) a spell of truth, thou didst loosen the rock and make the cow easily obtainable to the priest (*i.e.*, the *Āngirases*).' Regarding *brāhmāṇe* in *pāda d*, I believe that, like *brahmāṇe* in 1.101.5 cited above, it refers to the *Āngirases*, although it is accented on the first syllable. *satīnamanyu* is synonymous with *satyamantra* ; *satīna* = *satya* and *manyu* = *mantra* as in 2.24.14 explained above. Regarding Indra's employment of spells of truth in order to shatter the rock-cave of Vala, see the observations above ; compare also 6.39.2 :

अयमुज्ञानः पर्यदिमुखा ऋतधीतिभिर्ऋतयुग्युजानः ।  
रुजदरुणं वि वलस्य सानुं पूर्णैर्बचोभिर्भि योद्धदिन्द्रः ॥

'Desiring (cows) this Indra, yoking (*i.e.*, employing) a truth(-spell) and joined by those (the *Āngirases*) who had (*i.e.*, employed) spells of truth (split) the rock(-cave) enclosing the cows. He split the unbroken back of Vala, he fought the *Paṇis* with words.' *ṛtayuj* in *pāda b* of this verse is almost a synonym of *satīnamanyu* in 10.112.8c.

Geldner renders *pādas cd* of 10.112.8 as, 'Thou whose zeal is genuine, madest the rock pliant ; thou madest the cow easily attainable to the word of magic power.' *Sāyaṇa* explains them as :

सतीनमन्युः । सतीनमित्युदकनाम । उदकाभिवर्षणबुद्धियुक्तस्त्वम् अद्रिं मेघम्  
अश्रथयः वज्रणाहिंसोः । ब्रह्मणे बृहस्पतये गां पणिभिरपहृतां सुवेदनां सुष्ठु ज्ञापनीयाम्  
अङ्गुणोः अकरोः ।



## THE ACCENT OF THE KUMAUNI LANGUAGE

### 2. WORD ACCENT :

#### ITS PHONEMIC AND PHONETIC ASPECTS

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AND

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### I. Introductory

#### 1. Kumauni accent phonemically considered

That there is a definite phonemic element in Kumauni accent will be evident from the following minimal pairs in which the /ə/ series represents predominantly stressed accent, while /a/ series represents the predominantly pitch accent, the different accents inducing different meanings :

/rət/ 'red' : /ra:t/ 'night'.

/mən/ 'a capacity, measurement' : /ma:n/ 'honour'.

/bət/ 'wick' : /ba:t/ 'matter'.

/rɛʃ/ 'king' : /ra:ʃ/ 'kingdom'.

/əd/ 'ginger' : /a:d/ 'moisture'.

/de/ 'give I' : /de:/ 'gave'.

/dʒu/ 'lamp' : /dʒu/ '(I) give'.

Similarly, in disyllabic words, there are minimal pairs significantly represented by difference of stress and pitch, as in :

/¹Kʌ'ra/ 'do thou make one do' : /₁kʌ,ra/ 'please do !'

/₁búlɔ̃/ 'should I call ?' : /bu,lɔ̃/ '(I) call'.

Here, the primary and secondary accents differentiate, significantly, in the first example, the stress and, in the second, the pitch accent.

Three prominent differences may be noticed in the above series :

i. The /ə/ series have predominantly stress accent, the /a/ series pitch accent.



ii. In this series the qualities and quantities of the stem vowel differ but in other cases the quality is the same, though the quantity of the vowel having pitch accent is naturally somewhat longer.

iii. Accent being admittedly the cumulative effect of stress, pitch, quality and quantity, and being, thus, a supra-segmental phoneme, is clearly indicated by these examples, which show explicitly the divergence of meaning in the series concerned and confirm the dynamic existence of accent in these occurrences.

## II. Elements of Accent

Of the four elements of accent, the peculiarities of each in Kumauni may be described briefly as follows :

### 1. Stress : *Main features*

#### (a) *Physiological accompaniments*

i. Muscular tension as well as movement in the whole thorax, so that while articulating the accented syllables, a gentle movement of the upper part of the body, even of clothes, is definitely visible.

ii. In primary stress, a shaking of the head and abrupt laryngeal rise are notable features.

#### (b) *Kinds of stress*

i. Level stress occurs generally in all short syllables, as in the first syllable of /'Içwʌr/ 'God', /<sub>1</sub>Iŋkar/ 'refusal' etc.

ii. Diminuendo stress occurs in heavy syllables like /ʒwot/ 'shoe', /mwot/ 'fat', /ghwɔɳ/ 'horse'.

#### (c) *Degrees of stress*

i. Primary stress generally occurs with short vowels in monosyllables and with short vowels in the initial syllable of polysyllables.

ii. Secondary stress generally occurs in the second syllable of a polysyllabic word and is often accompanied by pitch accent, tending to become a composite but predominantly pitch accent.

#### (d) *Sensitiveness of stress*

The stress of this language is so sensitive that its degree and operation are immediately affected by the phonotactic environments, such as continuants like nasals, lateral consonants and /r/ sounds, e.g., /gɪl/ 'wet', /tɪn/ 'wet', /tʃɪr/ 'rending', etc. The stress in these words constitutes only onset, the cauda tending towards pitch.



## 2. Pitch

### (a) *Physiological accompaniment*

It is accompanied by a gentle and gradual laryngeal rise.

### (b) *Kinds of pitch*

Rising pitch occurs in closed syllables with long vowels as in /ko:p/ 'somebody', /tʃo:r/ 'thief' etc.

Falling pitch occurs at the end of open syllables as /mẽ/ 'I', /hɔkẽ/ 'to the wind' etc.

### (c) *Degrees of pitch*

Generally speaking, the pitch is normally never high, very often it is low, but in accented syllables it is medium, with a rising tendency on the whole, as in /Ko:p/ 'somebody', /mẽç/ 'man', /ghe:r/ 'fence' etc.

### (d) *Sensitiveness of pitch*

The pitch is very sensitive to the quality of the vowels, as in /te:ʃ/ 'sharp', /kɪlɛ'ki/ 'because', /gʌri:p/ 'poor'. It is also very sensitive to nasality and sonants in general, as /mɛnʌ̃/ 'to admit', /duçɔr/ 'second' etc.

## 3. Quantity

Quantity is, perhaps, by far the most important element of Kumauni accent. For, with the short quantity of a vowel, the accent almost necessarily appears as stress accent, while with a long vowel, the accent appears as pitch accent. *E.g.*,

/ʔa/ 'come', /ʔgɪl/ 'wet', /ʔuʃ/ 'energy'; but  
/ʔghin/ 'hatred', /'mẽ:ç/ 'man', /'ko:p/ 'somebody'.

*Note* : The symbol /ʔ/ represents predominantly stress accent (Kingdon's 'atonic accent') while the symbol /'/ represents predominantly pitch accent (Kingdon's 'kinetic accent').<sup>1</sup>

### (a) *Environments of quantity*

In closed monosyllabic words the quantity of vowels such as /a/, /ɔ/, etc. is always fully long, the pitch being medium and rising (Cf. 2 c above) and in disyllabic words, the quantity of the second syllable is half-long, the initial syllable in this case being always short, e. g., /ʔmẽ'kẽ/ 'to me', /ʔbhi'ne:r/ 'fire', /ʔb'bihu:t/ 'sacred ashes',

1. *The Groundwork of English Stress*, (1958), p. 12.



(b) *Degree of quantity*

There are four degrees of quantity, normal, half-long, fully long and very short. Fully long vowels become a favourable environment for pitch accent, and very short vowels for stress accent. E.g.,

/ʲbeḍ (i)/ 'altar', cf. /'be:d/ 'The Veda'.

/ʲdʒo/ 'rain', cf. /'ko:p/ 'somebody'.

/ʲʒu/ 'yoke', cf. /ʒ u:n/ 'moon'.

/ʲa/ 'come', cf. /'a:/ 'came'.

(c) *Quantity as the nucleus of a syllable*

The long quantity of a closed syllable appears as the nucleus of that syllable, making the succeeding portion only a periphery as in /te:ʒ/ 'strong', /ru:kh/ 'tree', /mɛ:ç/ 'man' etc.

4. **Quality**

(a) The quality of some vowels such as /ɐ, I, U/ is necessarily accompanied by stress accent, e. g., /'Idz/ 'mother', /'Uʒ/ 'energy', /ɐg/ 'fire'.

(b) The nasality in a vowel increases pitch accent, as in / ũ tshẽ/ 'they are', but cf. /tu tshɛ/ 'thou art'.

(c) Consonant clusters remarkably intensify the stress-accent as in /ʲtšhwɔyi di/ 'gave up', /ʲtšwɛ/ 'cloak', /ʲtšʌmkʌʒ/ 'to shine', but cf. /cʌmk/ 'brightness'.

(d) Sonant constants favour high pitch, as in /'kU/ 'water channal', /'tUm/ 'you', /'f a:t/ 'night'; cf., otherwise, /kUt/ 'dog', /tu/ 'thou', /ba:t/ 'matter'.

III. **Accentual Patterns**

The behaviour of the accent of the Kumauni language varies remarkably with the nature of syllabication, i.e., it varies with the number of the syllables of a word, with the openness and closeness of the syllable, and with the syllabic position of the phoneme concerned. Consequently, we shall first start with the syllabic patterns of the language.

1. **Monosyllabic patterns**

Monosyllabic patterns may be closed or open. As the frequency of closed mono-syllabic words is much larger, they may be taken up first :

(a) *Closed syllables with pitch accent (Kinetic)*



(a<sub>1</sub>) *Long quantity*: Quantity being the necessary environment for all accented syllables, closed syllables with long vowels, which invariably have the primary pitch accent, are illustrated first :

- /i : / 'ghi:n / 'hatred', /t̃s̃ i:l / 'kite'.  
 /e : / 'ghe:r / 'fence', /te:r / 'thirteen'.  
 /ɛ : / 'm̃e:ç / 'man', /k̃ɛ:ʃ / 'mother's sister'  
 /ɔ : / 't̃ɔ:n / 'to come', /p̃ɔ:n / 'guest'.  
 /o : / 'ko:p / 'somebody', /kho:p / 'dug pit'.  
 /a : / 'ba:t / 'affair', /ka:n / 'ear'.

(a<sub>2</sub>) Similarly short quantity always favours 'stress-accent' (atonic) as in :

- /I/ 'Idz / 'mother', /tIt / 'bitter', /bikh / 'poison'.  
 /v/ 'uʃ / 'energy', /t̃hul / 'big', /t̃shwɔt̃ / 'small'.  
 /ɐ/ 'ɛg / 'fire', /t̃sɐk / 'hand mill', /pɐk / 'ripe'.

(b) *Open syllables with pitch accent*

(b<sub>1</sub>) Open syllables with long quantity occur only sporadically, as in :

- /a : / '(he) came', /de : / 'gave', /kha : / 'ate', /ũ : / 'they',  
 /t̃sh̃e : / '(they) are', /tsh̃e : / '(thou) art', /kɔ : / 'said'.

(b<sub>2</sub>) *Open monosyllables with short quantity*

- /e/ 'de / 'give', /kwe / 'any'.  
 /a/ 'a / 'come', /gha / 'grass'.  
 /ɔ/ 'bhɔ / 'male baby', /nɔ / 'boat'.  
 /o/ 'djo / 'rain', /ʃo / 'who'.  
 /u/ 'ʃu / 'yoke', /ku / 'a well'.

*Note* : In this pattern the onset has clearly the stress-accent, but the cauda is accompanied, more or less, by a slight pitch, making it 'double peaked accent'.

(c) *Comparison with Nepali and Garhwali* :

Under the monosyllabic pattern the following comparisons with Nepali and Garhwali speakers may be interesting :

(c<sub>1</sub>) *Nepali* : Monosyllabic words with long vowels show mild pitch accent as in /co:r / 'thief', /ba:r / 'fence', /ʃu:n / 'moonlight', /ba:t / 'matter', /ka:m / 'task'.

Monosyllabic words with short vowels show a definite stress accent as in /mɜ / 'I', /ghɪn / 'hatred', /tsʌm / 'are', /r̃ɛti / 'night', etc.

(c<sub>2</sub>) *Garhwali* : Monosyllabic words with long vowels favour pitch accent and short vowels secondary stress-accent. *E.g.*,



/ˈra:t/ 'night', /kɛ:r/ 'do ! (thou)', /mɛ:s/ 'husband',  
 /ˈʃu:n/ 'moonlight', /tʃo:r/ 'thief', and  
 /ˈɡɪl (ʋ)/ 'wet', /ˈʌʃ/ 'come !', /ˈʃut (ʋ)/ 'shoe', etc.

## 2. Disyllabic patterns

### (a) The initial syllable

In an overwhelming majority of cases, the initial syllable of disyllabic words is short, being accompanied by stress accent, while the second syllable has a primary pitch accent, if the vowel is long, but a secondary pitch accent if the vowel is short. *E.g.* ;

/ˈvːde:k/ 'being fed up with :	/ˈbɪˈbhu:t/ 'sacred ashes'
/ˈkʌ,ca:r/ 'mud' :	/ˈruˈpɛ:/ 'rupee'.
/ˈʃu,dɛ:/ 'gratis' :	/ˈkʌˈbhɛ:/ 'ever'.
/ˈɛ,dʌk/ 'half' :	/ˈdɛ,tʌl/ 'sickle'.
/ˈkʌ,tɪk/ 'a fair' :	/ˈʌ,tha/ 'excess'.
/ˈnɪ,gha/ 'sight' :	/ˈmɛ,kɛ/ 'to me'.

### (b) The quality of phonemes in the second syllable

An important feature of the accent of disyllables is the domination of the quality of the phoneme of the second syllable on the prominence of that syllable. For example, if the second syllable has a voiced consonant, the pitch of the syllable is higher. *E.g.* :

/ˈvːde:k/ 'being fed up with', cf. /ˈv,ker/ 'mounting a plant with clay'.
/ˈvːme:d/ 'hope', cf. /ˈʌ,cet/ 'unconscious'.
/ˈbeˈli/ 'cup', cf. /ˈreˈti/ 'file'.
/ˈʃʌˈmi:n/ 'land', cf. /ˈphʌˈkir/ 'a faqir'.

### (c) Nepali and Garhwali comparisons

In Nepali the initial syllable with short vowel of a disyllabic word tends to have a primary stress-accent. *E.g.* /ˈɪssʌrð/ 'God', /ˈʃuto/ 'shoes', /ˈruʃo/ 'wet', /ˈdʌsro/ 'another', /ˈkʌlo/ 'water channal', /ˈʃʌɡga/ 'place', /ˈʃɪmi/ 'land', /ˈphʌkkir/ 'a faqir'.

In Garhwali, the initial syllable has similar stress-accent ; but secondary :

/ˈɪdʌsrʌ/ 'another', /ˈʌtha/ 'excess', /ˈɪnɪga/ 'sight', /ˈʃʌmin/ 'land', /ˈvmed/ 'hope', /ˈɪnkar/ 'refusal'.

## 3. Trisyllabic patterns

(a) The frequency of Trisyllabic words in the language is not copious. The first two syllables of this pattern generally correspond to both the syllables of the disyllabic pattern, viz., the initial syllable



being generally stress-accented with a primary accent, and the second syllable, if long, being pitch-accented.

(b) As regards the third syllable of this pattern, the accent is conditioned by the closed or open environment of this syllable. If the third syllable is closed, it has a reduced pitch accent; but if the third syllable is open, the vowel is very short, almost unheard, so that it is accentless; but the preceding, viz., the second, syllable, acquires a secondary stress, indicating an accentual adjustment.

(c) The leading morphological environments for Trisyllabic words with closed final syllables are infinitive formations and loan words, and for those with open final syllables, feminine formations for disyllabic words. E.g. :

Closed	Open
/ <sup>1</sup> u'khe Δn/ 'to uncover'	<sub>1</sub> du <sub>1</sub> lheni/ 'bride'
/ <sup>1</sup> ni'co.γΔn/ 'to squeeze'	<sub>1</sub> gh <sup>2</sup> g <sup>2</sup> eri/ 'skirt'
<sup>1</sup> ghΔ'γo.γΔn/ 'to drag'	<sub>1</sub> tšh <sup>2</sup> <sub>1</sub> p <sup>2</sup> eri/ 'small basket'
/ <sup>1</sup> i'ʒa ʒΔt/ 'permission'	<sub>1</sub> dhu <sub>1</sub> p <sup>2</sup> eri/ 'noon'

(d) *Three short syllables*

Trisyllabic words, with three equally short syllables, have a primary stress accent on the initial syllable, a primary pitch accent on the second, and a secondary pitch on the third.

/ <sup>1</sup> pΔ'kΔ,γΔn/ 'to catch'	/ <sup>1</sup> ni'khΔ,rΔn/ 'to be filtered'
/ <sup>1</sup> ni'kΔ,lΔn/ 'to issue'	/ <sup>1</sup> uʒ'Δ,γΔn/ 'to be ruined'.

(e) In this pattern, Nepali accent is nearer to Kumauni (Bhimtali) than is the Garhwali accent, i.e., the first syllable with short vowel has a primary stress accent, and the second one pitch accent, but in Garhwali, the first syllable has stress accent, but the second syllable has notable pitch accent. Cf. Nepali /<sup>1</sup>ugharne/ 'to open', /<sup>1</sup>ni'corne/ 'to squeeze', /<sup>1</sup>okhalne/ 'to uproot'; Garhwali /u'ʒaγnu/ 'to lay waste', /ni'coγnu/ 'to squeeze'.

#### 4. Syllabic position as an environment for accent

(a) From the above data it would have been clear that syllabic position plays a very important part as an environment for Kumauni accent. In the initial position, the vowel is almost invariably short, the accent, consequently, being the stress-accent. In the final position, if the word is disyllabic, certain quantitative rules operate, as explained above, while, if the word is trisyllabic, the condition of the final syllable operates, as detailed above.

(b) An interesting instance of the shift of accent is the initial accent acquired by a syllable after syllabic extension, e.g., /<sup>1</sup>tšor/



has pitch-accent, being a monosyllable, but in /tsors/ 'by the thief', the syllable /t̥sor/ with a shortened vowel has the stress accent. Similarly, cf. /m̥/ 'I', /<sup>1</sup>m̥ 'k̥/ 'to me'.

#### IV. Conclusion

The above data should lead one to conclude that from the phonological point of view, Kumauni accent may be described as follows :

1. The Kumauni accent is strictly phonemic in those patterns which show minimal pairs, as /<sup>1</sup>e/ : /a/ series, showing stress-pitch contrasts. Cf. /<sup>1</sup>r̥et/ : /'rat/, and /,kʌ'.ra/ and /<sub>1</sub>kʌra/ showing primary-secondary accent contrasts.

In the first series of examples, the complication of quantity-quality factors complicate the issue, but the difference is particularly made conspicuous by the stress-pitch contrasts, while in the second series there is no such complication.

The accent, in these patterns, therefore, may be called strictly phonemic.

2. Although, the frequency of phonemic features of the Kumauni accent is not so very extensive, the phonetic aspect of the accent constitutes a magnificent system, in which every syllable is controlled by definitely determining principles, the most predominant factor being quantity, the short quantity determining the stress accent and the long quantity determining the pitch-accent. The accent under such conditions is environmental and, therefore predictable.

3 The importance of such a systematically evolved accentuation is undeniable, and it remains to be seen what other languages in Indo-Aryan evince similar tendencies for the tracing of the isogloss of each accentual occurrence.

4. That Kumauni accent is only a portion of a wider phenomenon palpable in other Pahari languages, like Nepali and Garhwali, is confirmed by the above data, particularly in the syllable with short vowels. How far this tendency extends in Dardo-Pahari is a matter of future research.

5. The distributional data of accent, phonemic as well as phonetic, offer a promising field for synthetic presentation of Indo-Aryan structure.



PĀṆINI 6.1.121: *AVAPATHĀSI CA OR APAVATHĀSI CA ?\**

V. P. LIMAYE

*Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona*

The Vākyakāra and the Bhāṣyākāra have nothing to say on Pāṇini 6.1.121. The *Kāśikāṣṛṭṭi* is the first work to comment on this sūtra, which it does in the following manner :

यजुषि (117) इत्येव । अनुदात्ते (120) इति चशब्देनानुक्रुष्यते । अवपथाःशब्देऽनुदात्ते अकारादौ परतः यजुषि विषये णङ् (109) प्रकृत्या (115) भवति । “त्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथाः ।” वपेर्लेङि थासि तिङ्तिङः (8.1.28) । इति निघातेनानुदात्तत्वम् । अनुदात्ते इत्येव । “यद्वेभ्योऽवपथाः ।” निपातैर्यद्यदि हन्तेति (8.1.30) निघातः प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

Here, the *Kāśikā* rightly points to the passage in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* of *Yajurveda* which reads :

त्रिवसुभ्यो अवपथास् त्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथास् त्रिरादित्येभ्यो अवपथास् येन रूपेण प्रजापतयेऽवपथास् तेन मह्यं पवस्व ॥३०.६॥

It is obvious that the *Kāśikā* has not given the correct quotation of the counter example (*pratyudāharaṇa*).

Pāṇini and, following him, the *Kāśikā*, relying upon the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, (Pāṇini is familiar with the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*: cf. P 7.4.38, *devasummayor yajuṣi Kāṭhake*), have adopted and justified the form *avapathāḥ* as from √*vap*.

It seems to the present writer that in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, the form *avapathāḥ* was originally *apavathāḥ* as from √*pū*, as is clear from the context *tena mahyam pavasva*. For the grammatical purpose of the *sūtra* it mattered little whether it was *avapathāḥ* or *apavathāḥ*. But, for the purpose of the meaning of the passage, it makes a world of difference to choose between the meanings of √*vap* ‘strew’ and √*pū* ‘cleanse’. We must go to *Rgveda* 9.96.12 for the basis of the *Kāṭhaka* passage as well as the correct form *apavathāḥ* :

यथापवथा मनवे वयोधा अमित्रहा वरिवोविद्धविष्मान् ।  
एवा पवस्व द्रविणं दर्धान इन्द्रे सं तिष्ठ जनयारुधानि ॥

\* A paper read before the Annual General Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India at the Deccan College, Poona, on 15.2.1967.



पदपाठः— यथा अपवथाः मनवे वयःऽधाः अमित्रहा वरिवःऽवित द्विष्मान् ।

एव पवस्व द्विणम् दधानः इन्द्रैः सम् तिष्ठ जनय आयुधानि ॥

Sāyaṇa comments on the *mantra* as follows :

“हे सोम यथा पुरा त्वं मनवे राज्ञे...अपवथाः तस्मै धनादिकं प्रदातुं यथाऽगच्छः एवं अस्मभ्यमपि...पवस्व अस्मदभिमुखमागच्छ...” For Sāyaṇa’s interpretation of  $\sqrt{pu}$  as  $\sqrt{gam}$  see *Nighaṇṭu* 2.14.108, *pavate* (*gatikarmasu*) and 3.21.2, *pavasva* (*adhyeṣaṇākarmasu*).

The following passages from the *Śrautasūtras* confirm the suggested correct form *apavathāḥ* :

1. *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, 12.15.8 :

“सोमः पवते सोमः पवते सोमः पवते । सुभूताय पवते ब्रह्मवर्चसाय पवते । अस्मै ब्रह्मणे पवतेऽस्मै क्षत्राय पवतेऽस्यै विशे पवते । अद्भ्यः पवते, ओषधीभ्यः पवते, वनस्पतिभ्यः पवते । द्यावापृथिवीभ्यां पवते । अस्मै सुन्वते यजमानाय पवते मह्यं ज्यैष्ठ्याय पवते । यथा देवेभ्योऽपवथाः । एवं मह्यं पवस्वेति त्रिरुद्धति शनैरुच्चैरथ सूचैः ”

The *Bhāṣya* of Rudradatta says on the last observation of the *sūtra* :

“शनैरित्यादिना मध्यमकुट्टस्वरा गृह्यन्ते । नोपांशु । उद्धत्तोति वचनात् ।”<sup>1</sup>

2. *Jaiminiya Śrautasūtra*, on 9, lines 19-22, has correspondences with the above passage from the *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* :

“त्रिदेवेभ्योऽपवथाः । त्रिरादित्येभ्यः । त्रिरङ्गिरोभ्यः । येन तुर्येण ब्रह्मणा बृहस्पतये अपवथाः । तेन मह्यं पवस्व । स नः पवस्व शं गवे । शं जनाय शमर्वते । शं राजन् ओषधीभ्यः । इति सन्ततं शुक्रं पवयति ॥”<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, the above two *Śrautasūtras* or their commentaries have not said anything which gives some clue to the problem under discussion. Neither does Paul Thieme who discusses the *sūtra* under reference in his *Pāṇini and the Veda*,<sup>3</sup> hit upon the correct reading *apavathāḥ* :

“The last rule (6.1.121) of our series [of *Non-elision of unaccentuated a*] says : ‘(Nor is, in a formula, a single sound substituted, if *a* is unaccentuated) when there follows *avapathās*.’

“Boethlingk translates : ‘Likewise (is preserved) the *a* of *avapathās*’ disregarding the *Kāśikā*, which explicitly keeps in force

1. Ed. R. Garbe, (Calcutta, 1882), p. 395.

2. Ed. D. Gaastra, (Leiden, 1906), p. 11. See also the commentary of Bhavatrāta on the work, (Ed. Lokesh Chandra, Delhi, 1966), p. 34.

3. Allahabad, 1935, pp. 59-61.



*anudatte* from 6. 1: 120. He did not trust, it seems, the *pratyudāharaṇa* given by the *Kāśikā*, *yad rudrebhyovapathāḥ*, which, actually, is not quite correct. Yet the *Kāśikā* is right in principle: Firstly because there would be no sense in teaching non-elision of *a* in *avapathās* if *anudatte* were no longer in force. It would have been included in 6.1.119 (*ityādaḥ*) alongwith all the other non-discript cases. Secondly because the rule, as understood by the *Kāśikā* actually is verifiable in *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* 30.6, where we have the *Yajus* :

त्रिबुभ्यो अवपथास्त्री रुद्रेभ्यो अवपथास्त्रिरादित्येभ्यो अवपथा येन रूपेण प्रजापतयेऽवपथास्तेन मह्यं पवस्व ।”<sup>4</sup>

Pāṇini and the *Prātiśākhya*s have different attitudes towards the cases of elision in the Veda. “While the *Prātiśākhya*s had to give a detailed and dependable account of *all* cases, Pāṇini could dispense with mentioning grammatical facts that the Vedic has in common with the classical language.

“Another point of contrast is afforded by Pāṇini’s summary way of settling all odd cases of non-elision in 6.1.119, [*aṅga ityādaḥ ca*]. Here, too, the *Prātiśākhya*s, if they wanted to do justice to their task could not but state the case in full ; Pāṇini’s interest, on the other hand, which is a scientific and not a practical one, centres on such grammatical phenomena as are determined by definable conditions. We should not say that details interest him less. The last rule, for example, proves the contrary: the treatment of *a* in *avapathās*, dependant on its accentuation, is duly registered, since the elision, though occurring only once, seems to reveal a grammatical principle.”<sup>5</sup>

The references and observations cited above seem to suggest, convincingly enough, that the correct reading of P 6.1.121 should be *apavāthāsi ca* and not the current form *avapathāsi ca*.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 60.



## APHERESIS IN PĀLI \*

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It is a well known tendency in Old Indo-Aryan that due to want of stress, initial vowels and syllables are sometimes dropped.<sup>1</sup> This phenomenon, known as Aphereris, has persisted in the Middle Indo-Aryan stage and has continued even down to the Apabhraṃśa<sup>2</sup> and the Neo Indo-Aryan stages. Cases of such losses increase as we proceed from the OIA to the MIA as evidenced by the Prākṛts.<sup>3</sup> An examination of Pāli literature will show that it too had been affected by the said phenomenon.

### *Loss of initial 'a'*

*gini* (J IV. 26) 'fire' from Skt. *agni*; *ratani* (Miln. 85) 'a cubit,' Skt. *aratni* 'elbow,' given at *Halayudha-kośa* 2. 281, as "a cubit or measure from the elbow to the tip of the little finger." The form *ratni* also occurs in Skt. Cf. also *ratanika* (J 1.7), 'a *ratana* in length'; *pi* (J 1. 223), 'like,' Skt. *api*, cf. *api* (Dh. 106); *heṭṭhā* (J 1. 71), 'below,' Skt. *adhaṣṭāt*; *vaṭaṃsa(ka)* (Vin. II. 10.), 'ear-ornament,' Skt. *avataṃsa*, Pkt. *vaṃsa*; *valaṇja* (J II. 153), 'use,' *valaṇjeti* (J I. 102), 'he uses,' Geiger, *Pali Grammar*, *ava* √*lañj*; *pidahati* (J I. 293), *api* √*dhā*, cf. *apidahati* (J V. 60), Pkt. *piṇidhattae*=Skt. *apinidhātave*, 'to cover, to close'; *pilandhati* (J V. 400), *api* √*nah*, cf. *pilandhana* (J II. 74), 'putting on'; *pidhara* (Vism. II. 141), 'a stick (or rag ?) for scraping (for wiping ?),' *api* √*dhr*; *vaṭaṃsa* (Mhvs. II. 28), 'a kind of head ornament, perhaps ear-ring worn round the forehead'; *heṭṭhato* (Dhs. 1282), 'from below,' cf. *heṭṭhā*; *pithīyati* (Sn. 1034), 'to be covered,' cf. Skt. *apidhiyate*; *lakāra* (J II, 112), lit. 'filling up, a soil,' cf. Hindi and Mārāṭhi *laṅgara*, T. *ilāṅkaran*.

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\*A paper read before the Pali and Buddhism Section of the 20th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Bhubaneswar, 1959.

1. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I. §53.

2. On this see G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa*, Poona, 1948, p. 59-60.

3. Cf. Pischel, *Comparative Grammar of the Prākṛt languages*, (Eng. Trans. by Subhadra Jha, Varanasi, 1957), § 141-45.



*Loss of initial 'i'*

*dāni* (J II. 246), 'now,' Skt. *idānim*, cf. *idāni* (Dh. 235) ; *vā* (Dh. 28) ; 'like, like as,' Skt. *iva*, cf. *iva* (J I. 295) ; *ti* (D 1. 151), Skt. *iti*, cf. *iti* (Dh. 74).

*Loss of initial 'u'*

*luka* (J VI. 497), 'owl,' Skt. *ulūka*, through wrong syllable division; *daka* (Vin. III. 112), 'water,' Skt. *udaka*, cf. *udaka* (J 1. 212) *posatha* (J IV. 309), 'holiday,' Skt. *upavasatha*, cf. *uposatha* (J 1. 232), cf. Buddhist Skt. *poṣadha* (Digy. 116), Pkt. *posaha* ; *posathika* (J IV. 309)=*uposathika*.

*Loss of initial 'y'*

*ūkā* (J I. 453), 'louse,' Skt. *yūka*.



## A NOTE ON HEMACANDRA AND THE *UDĀTTARĀGHAVA*

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According to Rājaśekhara, Māyurāja was a unique poet from the Kalacūri dynasty. A play entitled *Udattarāghava* is attributed to him in Dhanika's commentary *Avaloka* on the *Daśarūpaka* (III. 24), which quotes from it some passages as well (*ibid.* IV. 28). V. Raghavan is reported to have discovered a Ms. of this work from Eastern India. V. V. Mirashi<sup>1</sup> who has used some extracts from the work accepts that the author of the *Udattarāghava* is the same as that of the *Tāpasavatsarājacarita*.<sup>2</sup> His name is Anaṅgahaṛṣa Mātrarāja or Māyurāja, and he was the son of Narendravardhana.

Mirashi has raised a doubt as to how Mātrarāja and Māyurāja could be synonyms, though accepted unanimously by later scholars. Some speculations have also been hazarded on the meaning and spelling of this name. A more probable explanation might be offered here. This author must have had a popular name *Māyurāya*, besides his respectable name Anaṅgahaṛṣa. The said popular Prākṛt name should have assumed two forms while being approximated to Sanskrit spelling: first, just a simple Sanskritised transcription, *Māyurāja*; and then, secondly, a bit of Sanskrit translation, *Māṭṛrāja* or *Mātrarāja*. To confirm the first, we get similar forms in Prākṛt: *jāmāuo* from *jāmāṭṛkaḥ*, *māuo* from *māṭṛkaḥ*, *māuā* from *māṭṛkā*, which forms are duly noted by Hemacandra in his Prākṛt grammar (1.131).<sup>3</sup> Not only is *māira* very near in pronunciation to *māṭṛ*, but both *mātrā* and *māṭṛ* have a common form in Prākṛt, namely, *mā(y)ā*: that is how *Mātra* became current for *Māṭṛ-rāja*. Thus, the author's name was Māurāya

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1. V. V. Mirashi, *Kalacūri Nṛpati āṇi tyāṃcā kāla* (in Marāṭhi), Nagpur, 1956, pp. 85-91. V. Raghavan, Presidential Address to the 21st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, 1961.

2. Ed. by Śrī-Yadugiri-Yatirāja-Sampatkumāra-Rāmānujamuni, Bangalore, 1929. See pp. 9-10 and also the foot-notes to the Index of verses for earlier references etc. to this work.

3. Ed. by P. L. Vaidya, B. O. R. I., Poona.



in Prakṛt which gave rise to Māyurāja and Māṭṛrāja; Māṭrarāja is a wrong improvement on the latter.

Māyurāja and his plays have been referred to and quoted by several authors on poetics and rhetorics. Hemacandra knows the *Tāpasavatsarājacarita* and the *Udattarāghava* as is clear from the references in his *svopajña* commentaries on his *Kāvyaṇuśāsana*.<sup>4</sup> What is more interesting is his Prakṛt quotation from the *Udattarāghava* in his Prakṛt grammar which runs thus :

हीमाणहे विस्मय-निर्वेदे (IV. 283) । विस्मये यथा उदात्तराघवे “राक्षसः—  
हीमाणहे जीवन्तवश्चा मे जणणी ॥” निर्वेदे यथा विक्रान्तभीमे “राक्षसः—हीमाणहे  
पलिस्सन्ता हगे एदेण नियविधिणो दुव्ववन्निदेण ॥”

Hemacandra is illustrating here that *hīmāṇahe* is used to express *vismaya* and *nirveda*; and, by way of example, he quotes respectively from the *Udattarāghava* and *Vikrāntabhīma*. The former is specifically mentioned once (IV. 302); but elsewhere, the same sentence is quoted anonymously (IV. 282). As already shown by Pischel<sup>5</sup> in his *Notes*, Hemacandra quotes from plays like the *Śakuntala*, *Veṇīśaṁhāra* and *Mudrārākṣasa*. So, the quotation from the *Udattarāghava* should be authentic. As yet this play is not published. It is hoped that the quotation could be verified from the Ms. It is quite likely that Hemacandra has drawn some material from this play for his Prakṛt illustrations, which, in their turn, could be helpful in the proposed critical edition of *Udattarāghava*.<sup>6</sup>

4. Ed. R. C. Parikh and V. M. Kulkarni, Bombay, 1964. See pp. 141, 170 and 172.

5. See his ed. of *Hemacandra's Prakṛt Grammar*, Halle 1877.

6. An edition is promised by V. Raghavan. *Vide New Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. II, p. 332. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



## DID AŚOKA BECOME A BUDDHIST MONK ?

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Scholars are divided on the question whether Emperor Aśoka Maurya was actually ordained as a monk and joined the Buddhist Saṃgha. It is universally agreed that Aśoka had become an *upāsaka*, a lay disciple, of Buddhism in about 265 B. C. and the bloodshed that attended his conquest of Kalinga (262 B. C.) produced in him a deep revulsion against violence and remorse at the suffering that attended the Kalinga war. This led to his becoming a very zealous and active Buddhist, an event recorded in Minor Rock Edict (MRE) I.<sup>1</sup>

The relevant portion of the Brahmagiri version<sup>2</sup> of this Edict reads as under :

*Devāṇāmpīye āṇapayati: Adhikāni adhātīyāni vasāni ya hakaṃ (upā)sake: No tu kho bāḍhaṃ pakānte husaṃ ekaṃ savacharaṃ. Sātireke tu kho saṃvacharaṃ yaṃ mayā saṃghe upayāte bāḍhaṃ ca me pakānte. Iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā Jambudīpasi misa devehi. Pakamasa hi iyaṃ phale. No hīyaṃ sakyē mahātpeneva pāpotave. Kāmaṃ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamiṇeṇa vipule svage sakyē āradhetave. Etayathāya iyaṃ sāvaṇe sāvaṇpīte: (Yathā Khudakā ca) mahātpā ca imaṃ pakameyu ti Aṃtā ca me jāneyu. Chirathitike ca iyaṃ paka (me hotu). Iyaṃ ca aṭṭhe vaḍḍhisiti vipulaṃ pi ca vaḍḍhisiti :*

1. MRE I is found at the following places in India :

- (a) North India : (1) Bairat near Jaipur, (2) Gujarra (Madhya Pradesh), (3) Rupnath (Madhya Pradesh) and (4) Sahasram (Bihar).
- (b) South India : (1) Brahmagiri (Chitaldurg, Mysore), (2) Gavimata, (3) Jatinga Ramesvara, (4) Maski, (5) Palkigundu, (6) Rajulu-Mandagiri, (7) Siddhapura and (8) Yerragudi in Andhra Pradesh.

See A. C. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*.

2. *Edicts of Aśoka*, Edited and Translated by G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. There is considerable controversy regarding the dating of the inscriptions of Aśoka. Some hold that Pillar Edicts were engraved first followed by Minor Rock Edicts and Rock Edicts (Bhandarkar), others that Minor Rock Edicts were the earliest (Hultzsch and Mookerji) or that the Rock Edicts were earlier than the Pillar Edicts (Barua).



*Avaradhiya diyaḍhiyaṃ vaḍhisiti. Iyaṃ ca sāvaṇe sāvapite vyūthena*  
200-50-6.

"The beloved of the Gods commands thus: I have been a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) for over two years and a half (by now) but I did not progress well for a year. But, since I visited the order (*saṃgha*) over a year ago, I have been progressing well in the path of *Dharma*. Men in Jambudvīpa, who were till now unmingled, have now been mingled with the Gods. This is certainly the fruit of my exertion. Nor is it correct to hold that this can be achieved only by the great ones. For, even the smallest person can achieve the ideal of heavenly bliss by force of exertion. It is for this purpose that this proclamation has been proclaimed here. Let the small and great exert themselves to achieve this purpose. May my border people understand this. May this spirit of exertion endure everlastingly. This purpose will prosper and prosper increasingly, and in the last calculation it will grow at least two and a half times. This precept was proclaimed by me 256 (times) while on tour."<sup>3</sup>

There are certain variations in the other texts of this edict but they are not significant for our purpose.

The important expression in the edict is *saṃghe upayāte* which in other versions is *saṃghe upagate* (Maski), *saṃghe upayāte* (Bairat) and *saṃghe upete* (Rūpnāth). This has been the subject of conflicting interpretations by scholars, some holding that it meant that Aśoka joined the *saṃgha*, while others that it merely indicated that Aśoka became more zealously or devoutly attached to the *saṃgha*.<sup>4</sup> The interpretation that Aśoka joined the *saṃgha* is responsible for the belief that Aśoka had been formally ordained as a monk.

The view that according to the Minor Rock Edict Aśoka had become a monk and joined the order cannot be justified with reference to the details of his personal life and the content of his personal religion as reflected in the Edicts.

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3. Murti and Aiyangar, *ibid*.

4. A. C. Sen, *Aśoka's Edicts*, translates the expression as 'joined *saṃgha*,' Radhagovinda Basak, *Aśokan Inscriptions*, (Calcutta, 1959, pp. 133-40), translates it as 'entered the order', D. C. Sircar, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, (Delhi, 1957, p. 33), translates it as 'devoutly attached to the *Samgha*'. G. Srinivasa Murti and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, *Edicts of Aśoka*, and S. Bhattacharya, *Select Aśokan Epigraphs*, (Calcutta, 1960, p. 17), translate it as 'visited the Order or *Samgha*.' D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, (Calcutta, 1925, p. 328), translates it as 'lived with the *Samgha*.'



### Personal life

1. In all the Edicts, Aśoka is addressed as *devānām priya*, i.e., 'the beloved of the gods.' Gods in Buddhism are mortal like human beings and not eligible for *nirvāṇa*. The gods and their abodes, viz., heavens, are not the ideals of Buddhist monks. If Aśoka had become a monk, the title *devānām priya* would be inappropriate.

2. Rock Edict I says: "Formerly in the kitchen of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, many (hundred) thousands of lives were daily slaughtered for (making) curries. So, now, when this edict of the Law of Piety is being caused to be written, (then) only three lives are slaughtered (i.e., for curry), two peacocks and one antelope."<sup>5</sup> Slaughter of these animals for the royal table would be wholly inconsistent with the vow of *ahiṃsā* binding on a *bhikṣu*.

3. Rock Edict IV says: "And the sons, grandsons and great-grandsons of King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, will also cause this practice of the Law of Piety to increase until the end of the universe....."<sup>6</sup> Rock Edict V also speaks of the sons and grandsons and descendents of Aśoka.<sup>7</sup> How could Aśoka speak of his sons and grandsons if he had renounced the world and become a *bhikṣu*. It should be noted that this rock edict was promulgated twelve years after Aśoka's coronation.

4. In Rock Edict VIII it is said: "King Priyadarśī, the Beloved of the Gods, having been consecrated for ten years, went out to Sāmbodhi (Buddha Gayā). From that arose this (practice) of *dharma-yātrā*. There, in it, take place these (things)—visit to (Buddhist ascetics and Brāhmaṇas and charity to them, visit to the elders (*sthaviras*) and gift of gold to them....."<sup>8</sup> If Aśoka had become a *bhikṣu* there could have been no question of his visiting the Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇas and giving them gifts, especially gold.

5. In the Pillar Edict VII issued in the 27th year after his coronation, Aśoka observes, "These (*dhamma mahāmatas*) and many other *mukhyas* (chiefs of heads of departments) are engaged in the distribution of charities and this, too, *on my behalf and that of my queens*. In *all my harems* they became acquainted in many ways with

5. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 4.

6. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

7. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 27. There is a reference to Aśoka's sons and great-grand-sons in the Sāñchi text of Minor Pillar Inscription I (Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 148).

8. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 42. of. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



all the (proper) objects where satisfaction is to be arranged here (in the capital) and in the (different) quarters (of the country). I have also ordered this to be done with regard to my sons and other princes born of the queens....."<sup>9</sup> The reference to queens, harem and sons of Aśoka could mean only that Aśoka had not renounced the world and entered the monkish order. The Minor Pillar Edict No. III from Allahabad, also called Queen's Edict, speaks of Aśoka's two queens, the second being named as Cāruvakī.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in the *Mahāvamsa* it is stated that four years after the death of his queen Asamdhimittā, (which took place in the 30th year of his reign), Aśoka "raised the treacherous Tissarakkhā to the rank of queen."<sup>11</sup> This should conclusively establish that Aśoka had not become a monk but continued to lead the life of a *gṛhastha*.

### Content of Aśoka's religion

According to Rock Edict IX, the *Dharmamaṅgala*, the ceremonial of the Law of Piety, preached by Aśoka either achieves the desired result in this world or produces endless merit in the world hereafter.<sup>12</sup> In the Girnar, Dhauli and Jaugada versions of this edict, it is said, "By this heaven can be won." Heaven is one of the mortal *gatis* which is the ideal of a layman but not of a *bhikṣu* whose objective is *nirvāṇa*. In Rock Edict X, he observes: "Whatever action King Priyadarśi, the Beloved of the Gods, exerts for, all that is, indeed, for well-being in life hereafter."<sup>13</sup>

Again, in Pillar Edict II, Aśoka defines the Law of Piety as consisting of "freedom from sin, good works of many kinds, compassion, liberality or making gifts, truthfulness and purity (of mind) or uprightness. In many ways have I given the gift of (spiritual) insight. I have shown many a favour to two-footed and four-footed (animals) and to birds and to beings living in waters, even unto the boon of (their) life. I have also done many other good deeds."<sup>14</sup> This is patently the religion of a lay Buddhist, an *upāsaka*, but not of a *bhikṣu*.

9. Basak, *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

10. The Queen's Edict was promulgated towards the close of the 20th or the 21st year. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, (Calcutta, 1955, pt. II, p. 13).

11. *The Mahāvamsa*, (London, 1925), ed. and tr. by Geiger, XX, 3.

12. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 49.

13. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 53.

14. Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 86. In Pillar Edict VII (Basak, *Ibid.*, p. 106-7) Aśoka says: "I have also revered all sects with various forms of reverence or worship". This ill fits a *bhikṣu*. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



*The Dīpavaṃsa* makes an unambiguous statement. Aśoka, on his conversion, tells Nigrodha: Today, I choose as my refuge Thee and Buddha with the *Dhamma* and the *Samgha*; together with my children and wives, with the number of my relatives, I announce to Thee my having become a lay disciple."<sup>15</sup> He abides "together with children and wives in the refuge (of the faith)." In the 17th year of his reign Aśoka, in his message to Devānāmpiya, on the latter's coronation as King of Ceylon, observes: "I have taken my refuge in the Buddha, the *Dhamma*, and the *Samgha*, I have avowed myself a lay pupil of the Doctrine of the Sākyaputta."<sup>16</sup>

It is significant to note that according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Aśoka, as a giver of lavish gifts to the *Samgha*, was only *Paccayadāyaka*, a person who supplies the *bhikṣus* with their four requisites. "Since the monarch would fain become a kinsman of the religion (*Śāsanadāyāda*), he asked Mahinda and Saṃghamittā to receive the *pabbajjā*. Although the monarch wished to confer on Mahinda the dignity of prince-regent, yet did he consent to his ordination with the thought: 'This (last) is the greater dignity'."<sup>17</sup> This would clearly indicate that Aśoka was only a kinsman and not a member of the *Samgha* and Mahinda had to forgo becoming a regent on being ordained. It should also be noted that while the *Mahāvamsa* speaks of the *pabbajjā* and *upasampada* of Tissa and the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvamsa* speak of the *pabbajjā* of Mahinda and Saṃghamittā, there is no mention of Aśoka having taken *pabbajjā* which is an essential pre-requisite for ordination as a monk.

It would be seen from Minor Rock Edict I that the result of his exertions in cause of the *Samgha* was that the people in Jambudvīpa who had remained unassociated with the gods became associated with the gods. By such sustained exertion not only great but also small men could attain the heavenly bliss. Thus, the fruit of Aśoka's exertion in this direction was the bliss of heaven. The advice is that this bliss could be won by anyone who exerted himself in the same manner as did Aśoka. If such an exertion had really involved his joining the Order, it could not have been a model or an example for laymen nor could the objective be only heaven instead of *nirvāṇa*. It is, therefore,

15. *The Dīpavaṃsa*, (London), ed. and tr. by H. Oldenberg, VI, 55-56.

16. *The Dīpavaṃsa*, *Ibid.*, XII. 5.

17. *The Mahāvamsa*, *Ibid.*, V. 196-203. See also the *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Ibid.*, VII, 16. It says that "the donor of the requisites for the *bhikṣus* remains a stranger to the faith."



far-fetched to draw the inference from this edict that the emperor had joined the monkish order without renouncing his throne. He was only very closely associated with the *Samgha* since one year after his becoming an *upāsaka*. The term *Samgha upete* signifies this close association between Aśoka and the Buddhist *saṃgha*. This evidently was the outcome of exertion on his part of which he speaks in this edict. This appears to be an echo of Nigrodha's advice to Aśoka: "Earnestness is the way to immortality, indifference is the way to death ; the earnest do not die, the indifferent are like the dead."<sup>18</sup>

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18. *The Dīpaṃśu*, Ibid., VI, 58.



## A RARE BRONZE OF SKANDA KUMĀRA FROM THE PANJAB HILLS

R. C. AGRAWALA

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The National Museum at New Delhi acquired, recently, a rare small bronze statue of Skanda Kumāra, hailing, probably, from the Panjab or the Chamba Hill region (No. 66. 48 ; 11.1 cms. × 5.7 cms.). The deity is shown in standing pose as four-armed and six-headed (*ṣaṇmukha*). The main head is in the centre, as usual, but the remaining five heads appear in relief on the circular halo behind, in contrast to most of the extant published sculptures and carvings of Skanda Kumāra which show only three heads, the three heads on the back being not seen at all. The arrangement of the heads, all having matted locks indicating the influence of Gandhāra art, reminds one of a somewhat identical device of depicting numerous heads in a semi-circle in sculptures of Pārvatī performing penance<sup>1</sup> and *Viśvarūpa* Viṣṇu (with animal faces on sides) from Khajurāho.<sup>2</sup> The existing arrangement of the heads in the above bronze of the 6-7th century is, therefore, quite interesting, though the workmanship is not of a high quality.

Still more important are the details of the attendant figures on the sides of the main deity in the bronze under scrutiny. The second left hand of Skanda holds the top of the mace (*śakti*) attached to the head of a standing female figure ; she is none else than the *śakti* of Skanda Kumāra. The presentation of weapons of Skanda in human form is unusual though we have instances, in Indian art, of the *Āyudha-puruṣas* of Viṣṇu and Śiva. The second right hand of Skanda in the said bronze holds the neck of his vehicle, peacock (*mayūra*). The neck alone is to be seen here and that, too, attached to the human head of a standing male attendant shown below ; this is none else than the vehicle of Skanda, i.e., *Mayūra-puruṣa*. In Gupta art, Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, is sometimes shown as having a human face and the body of a

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1. U. P. Shah, 'Pārvatī performing the *Pañcāgnitapas*', *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Baroda, 10-11 (1953-55) 53-57, figures 3 and 4.

2. An unpublished sculpture built into the wall of the main hall of the Lakṣmaṇa Temple at Khajurāho.





CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.

**Skanda-Kumāra Bronze from the Panjab Hills**







bird. Śiva's Bull, *Nandī*, is often represented as a bull-headed human being.

The above noticed details of the Skanda bronze, under study, is reminiscent of similar details found in the *Āyudha-puruṣas* in the well known Śeṣaśāyī panel from Deogarh, datable to the late Gupta period. In the latter, the *āmalaka*-type knob of the mace marked on the head of the lady represents the *Gadā-devī*. The upper half of the *Cakra* (wheel) is laid edgewise on the second figure, viz., the *Cakra-puruṣa*. The remnants of a conch are found on the head of the third figure, viz., the *Śaṅkha-puruṣa*. The fourth figure, holding a sword in his hand, is usually identified with *Nandaka*, the sword of Viṣṇu, but the depiction of a lotus mark on his head would suggest his identification as *Padma-puruṣa*. The *Triśūla-puruṣa* in contemporary Indian sculpture, too, comes under the same category.<sup>3</sup> A Gupta statue from Mathura even depicts a full wheel (*cakra*) placed on the head of the seated *Cakra-puruṣa*.<sup>4</sup>

It may be noted that the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptors and artists of Northern India were fond of depicting single-headed Skanda. At the same time, some copper and silver Yaudheya coins show Kārttikeya with all his six heads. One rare silver coin of this group, preserved in the British Museum at London, bears on the obverse the standing figure of a two-armed and six-headed Skanda, his three main heads being in one row, with the remaining three heads (with matted locks) above in the second row.<sup>5</sup> A number of copper coins of the above group, datable to the second century A. D., too, have all the six heads of Skanda represented on them. Recently, the present writer came across, in the Gurukula Museum at Jhajjar (Dt. Rohtak), some copper coins of the above type found in the Yaudheya locality, nearby. The cult of Skanda Kumāra was extremely popular in this region; in fact, Skanda was the tutelary deity of the mighty Yaudheya republic. It is very likely that the coins of the Yaudheyas had inspired the *sthapati* of the bronze statue under study in presenting, together, all the six heads for *Ṣaṇmukha* Skanda Kumāra. The conspicuous absence of this motif in

3. R. C. Agrawala, 'Cakra-puruṣa in early Indian art', *Bhāratiya Vidyā*, 24 (1964) 41-45, fig. 7, 8, 9.

4. *Ibid.*, fig. 10.

5. J. Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, (London, 1936), p. cxlix, pl. 39, No. 21. See also J. N. Banerjee, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, (Calcutta, 1956), p. 141.



the Gandhāra and Mathura statues of Skanda is also worthy of notice here.

Attention may be drawn, in this connection, to certain Kuṣāṇa statues from Mathura, where three heads of Śiva have been shown in a row with a fourth head superimposed at the top.<sup>6</sup> A somewhat similar device may be seen in the Gandhāra relief of Śiva-Pārvatī.<sup>7</sup> The weapons including a wheel and a skull are also very clear therein. This tradition which was popular in the Chamba region during the mediaeval period<sup>8</sup> should have inspired the artist of the bronze under study in depicting all the six heads of Śkanda Kumāra.

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6. R. C. Agrawala, 'Four-faced Śiva and four-faced Viṣṇu,' *VIJ* 3 (1965) pp. 107-10 and plates.

7. Douglas Barret, *Oriental Art*, Vol. III, (London, 1957), p. 59 and fig. 12 on p. 58.

8. See H. Goetz, *Early wooden temples of Chamba*, (Leiden, 1955), p. 95, plate 16 B; D. R. Sahni, 'Excavations at Avantipur', *ASIAR*, Calcutta, 1913-14, p. 53, plate 28 F; J. Ph. Vogel, *The Antiquities of Chamba State*, I, (Calcutta, 1911), p. 218 and plate 31 facing it.



## OBITUARY NOTICES

PROF. H. D. VELANKAR

(1893-1967)

In the sad demise of Prof. Hari Damodar Velankar on January 13, 1967, the world of Indology lost one of the most eminent Indologists who enlightened abundantly the difficult paths of Vedic interpretation, textual criticism, metrics and manuscriptology.

Prof. Velankar was born on 18. 10. 1893, in a poor family, at Taral, a small village in Konkan. Being unable to pursue his studies after matriculation, he opened a shop, but had to wind it up soon. Later, being assisted by the well-known Gokuldas Tejpal Charities, he joined the Wilson College, Bombay, and immediately after passing his M. A. degree, in 1916, he was appointed as the Head of the Sanskrit Department of that College, which post he held with distinction for thirty-six years, spreading far and deep the growing roots of Sanskrit learning. On his retirement from the College in 1952, he was invited by Dr. K. M. Munshi to direct the Post-Graduate and Research Department of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan wherefrom he continued to enrich, with unflinching devotion and penetrating insight, the different branches of Indological studies. In 1963 he was selected to occupy the newly started Bhandarkar Professorship of Sanskrit in the University of Bombay, where, till his death, he worked with missionary zeal, furthering Sanskrit and allied studies under the direct aegis of the University.

During his literary career extending, nearly, to four decades and a half, he has blazed many new trails in the field of Indology. His interest in ancient Indian manuscripts induced him to undertake tours in search for them in villages. About 2000 manuscripts collected by him have been deposited in the Bombay University in memory of his Professor, H. M. Bhadamkar. His *Descriptive Catalogues of the Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the B. B. R. A. Society's Library*, (4 vols.), (1925-30) and of the *Sanskrit Mss. in the I. Desai's collection of the Bombay University* (1953) bear testimony to the hard work he has put in over those volumes. His *Jinaratnakośa* (1944), the 'Jain Catalogus Catalogorum,' is an essential tool of reference for textual study and



research in Jain literature and philosophy. His pioneering studies on and editions of works on Sanskrit and Prakrit prosody, viz., *Jayadāman* (1949), *Ratnamāñjūṣā* (1949), *Chandonuśāsana* (1961), *Vṛttajātisamuccaya* (1963), *Svayambhūcchandās* (1963), and *Kavidarpaṇa* (1963), have stressed, for the first time, the vivacious variety of metres and their importance in Indian textual criticism. He edited the *Saṃpīka-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* for the B. O. R. I.'s critical edition of that work (1948). His edition of the *Vikramorvaśīya* (1961) forms a full-fledged illustration of the principles of manuscriptology and textual criticism.

The most important contributions of Prof. Velankar, pertain, however, to the field of Vedic exegesis. His translation of the Indra and Agni Hymns of the *R̥gveda* have earned high approbation from renowned scholars like Renou, Thieme and Ingalls. In his translations of the Second (1967) and the Seventh Maṇḍalas (1963) of the *R̥gveda*, he has judiciously examined the traditional interpretation of Sāyaṇa and other ancient scholiasts as well as that of the occidental scholars like Oldenberg and Geldner. His *R̥ksūktavaijayanī* (1965) composed of 108 select hymns of the *R̥gveda* with translation and notes in Hindi, presents the quintessence of Vedic truths to the common man.

He has guided more than twenty-five students for the Ph. D. degree in Sanskrit in different branches of studies like Alankāra, Astrology, Mīmāṃsā, Philosophy, Veda, Vyākaraṇa and Yoga.

His deep learning and eminence have earned for him many covetable distinctions. He was elected President of the Vedic Section (1946 and 1953) of the All-India Oriental Conference. He was actively associated with learned institutions like the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Asiatic Society, Bombay, Sahitya Akademi and National Book Trust, New Delhi, Sanskrit Vishva Parishad, Bombay, etc. In 1962 he was awarded the *Certificate of Merit* by the President of India for his proficiency in Sanskrit learning. In 1965, on his seventy-second birthday, his students presented him with a Commemoration Volume.

Like the *vṛṣabha-dhenu* of the Veda, Prof. Velankar played the roles both of the father and the mother for his students, who in his demise, have lost an ideal 'Guruji' who not only taught them but loved, encouraged and inspired them.

S. A. UPADHYAYA

*Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay*



## PROF. DR. N. J. SHENDE

(1913-1967)

Specialised study of the Veda has suffered a severe setback in the passing away of Professor Dr. N. J. Shende. Vedic scholarship was just struggling to sustain itself on the inspirations and traditions left behind by two of its great votaries, Professors Louis Renou and H. D. Velankar, who passed away recently, when a fresh blow came on the 20th March 1967 as this senior student of Velankar followed his *Guru* within a period of two months. The news of his death was all the more stunning on account of its totally premature and unpredictable nature: Prof. Shende was in full vigour and was only fiftyfour.

Narayan Jagannath Shende was born on 15.2.1913 at the village of Patan in the District of Satara (Maharashtra). He pursued his higher studies at the Wilson College, Bombay, where he became a *Dakshina Fellow* for 1934-36. On completing the post-graduate studies with equal distinction, he joined the N. Wadia College, Poona, in 1937 as Lecturer in Sanskrit, and worked there for nine years. While there, he obtained his first doctoral degree in 1940, working under Prof. Velankar, on *The Bhṛgvaṅgiras element in the Mahābhārata*; got the V. N. Mandlik prize in 1940 for his essay, 'Hindu society as depicted in the Classical Sanskrit literature'; studied the authorship of the two Epics; took up Vedic studies (with a study of the Atharvaṇic Upaniṣads); and also started, in 1943, reading papers before the sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference.

As Reader in Sanskrit at the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona, (1947-50), he continued his studies in the Vedic literature, deity-wise, tracing back the indications left in the two Epics and on different aspects of the *Atharvaveda*. His first long study was *The Foundations of the Atharvaṇic Religion* (1949). His next important work, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda* (1952), appeared after he joined the then Bombay Government service in 1950 at the Elphinstone College. He next took up the *Yajurveda* also for study and, as an outcome of the Springer Research Scholarship (1955-57), produced his work, *The Mythology of the Yajurveda*. In 1961, the University of Bombay conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Literature.

When the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit was started at the Poona University in January 1965, chiefly to promote specialised studies in Veda the Vyākaraṇa, he joined that institution so as to devote his full attention to the small and big researches he had in view,



One of his ambitious projects related to tracing and delineating the precious thread of traditional continuity in respect of the thoughts, philosophy, culture and mythology, from the Sāṁhitā Texts to the Sūtra Texts. But it was willed that only a beginning was done in this line in the form of his aesthetic study, *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharva-veda* which was published posthumously in April 1967.

Nanasaheb Shende, as he was familiarly known, was blessed with a sweet and inspiring household, and Prof. Mrs. Shende has taken her doctorate on an 'Old Marathi version of the *Mahābhārata*.' The untimely and irreparable loss of this most unassuming man of charming smile and ready hand of help will be mourned alike by his family, students, colleagues and scholars in the field.

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## LITERARY REVIEWS

*RGVEDA MAṆḌALA II*, By Prof. H. D. Velankar. University of Bombay, 1966. Pp. xi, 122. Rs. 6/-.

The book under review is an English translation with notes of the Second Maṇḍala of the *Rgveda*. Prof. Velankar had formulated a plan to publish an annotated English translation of the entire *Rgveda*, maṇḍala-wise, and, as the first instalment of this plan, an annotated English translation of the VIIth Maṇḍala of the *Rgveda* was published by him in 1963 under the auspices of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay. The present work forms the second instalment of the project. However, unlike the previous volume on the VIIth Maṇḍala, the Sanskrit text of the mantras has been excluded from the present work. In order to determine the sense of a difficult Vedic word, Prof. Velankar has referred in the annotations to the Vedic passages where it occurs in similar contexts. The grammatical and accentual peculiarities of important Vedic words have also been discussed by the author in the annotations. The translation is clear, lucid, and appropriate. The present work is, undoubtedly, an important contribution to the understanding of the *Rgveda*.

RAM GOPAL

*LOKA: WORLD AND HEAVEN IN THE VEDA*, By J. Gonda. N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, Amsterdam, 1966. Pp. 172. Price 25 f.

Professor J. Gonda, who has numerous research publications on Vedic philology, religion and culture to his credit, has made, in the book reviewed, an important contribution to the Vedic philology in the form of a scientific and comprehensive study of the Vedic word *loka*. The main aim of Gonda in undertaking the present study and other similar studies is to institute semantic investigations and to trace the development of ideas which form the preliminaries of a scientific attempt towards a correct understanding of the Vedic texts and, ultimately, towards a correct assessment of the Vedic religion and culture. He has been pursuing his plan from a wide perspective. According to him, "One should not limit oneself to one single term, however frequent and however important. One would, on the contrary, do well to examine carefully also its homonyms, its semantic



neighbours, its opposites etc., in short, the complete semantic field to which that word belongs. One should study that particular vocabulary from the point of view of its conceptual content as well as from that of its symbolization by means of semantemes or lexicological units." He, therefore, proposes to present similar studies of allied words such as *bhuvana*, *jagat* etc. He has, however, already arrived at the conclusion that "the time-honoured and, often, rather easy-going translations of these terms—for instance 'world' as a common translation for *loka*, *jagat*, *bhuvana* etc.,—should, wherever possible, be revised. Wherever possible, because the Vedic language being the cultural property of Vedic man, his religious and philosophical vocabulary was the depository of centuries of early Indian speculative effort. It does not tally with our terminology which is closely associated with our analysis of reality and with distinctions made by the exponents of Western culture."

Prof. Gonda has traced the relation of the word *loka* to Indo-European languages : Latin *lucus*, Oscian *lúvkei*, German *lauh*, Dutch *lo*, OEngl. *leah*, ONo. *lo*, Lit. *laũkas*—the basic meaning of all of which would be 'clearance, field, light'. In the Vedic texts, however, there is a considerable variety of the uses of the word *loka*, and it shows that different aspects of the word's meanings were, according to context and situation, common already in prehistoric times. *Loka* in Veda was not any open space, place or part of the universe, but a place or position of religious or psychological interest. This sacred space may be defined as that locality which becomes a position by the effects of power, that is, by a correct discharge of religious duties by means of effective rites and (or) creative knowledge. The adjective *uru* is not rarely applied to the word *loka*. Different numbers of *lokas* are mentioned ; these, however, do not fill up the universe. Various speculations as regards the distance from here to the celestial regions are met with in the Vedic texts. *Svarga* is described as boundless, undefined, full of pleasure and well-being, complete and immortal. It was, however, not, or not always, or not explicitly, identical with the abode of the blessed dead. The officiating priest, who causes the sacrificer to be born in *svargaloka*, effects his ritual rebirth or divinization.

Prof. Gonda has made a thorough study of all the occurrences of the word *loka* in the Vedic texts. Particular mention may be made of his explanations of the words *sukṛtasya lokah* or *sukṛtām lokah*, where *sukṛta* or *sukṛt* means a sacrificer who had performed the various



religious rites properly. In this connection, it may be noted that according to the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, VI. 5, the *adhvaryu* is required to announce the initiation of a Soma sacrificer to Indra, Indra-Agni, Vasus, Rudra, Ādityas, Viśve-Devas and (the souls of) the brāhmaṇas who had partaken of Soma (at a Soma sacrifice) (*adikṣiṣṭa 'yam brāhmaṇaḥ ... tam indraye'ndrāgnibhyām vasubhyo rudrebhya ādityebhyo viśvebhyo devebhyo brāhmaṇebhyaś ca somapebhyah pra-brāma iti*). This confirms the belief of the Vedic people that the Soma drinkers lived in a particular world after death (*cf. Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, VI. 1.2). Gonda's explanations of the occurrences of this term agree, to a large extent, with those given by Sāyaṇa and other commentators. This would indicate that the ritualistic interpretations of the commentators have begun to find favour with the modern philologists. The view that the Veda is more Indian than Indo-European, as expressed in the work under review and also elsewhere, would pave the way towards the correct understanding of the Veda. It is, however, no wonder that Gonda has, at times, differed from Sāyaṇa in the explanations of certain occurrences.

Prof. Gonda has (p. 28) referred to *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 287 : *tasmāt triṣṭubho loke dakṣiṇā nīyante*, and has also referred to Caland's explanation (*L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906, § 178 ; 191) : "The *dakṣiṇās* are given after the *Mādhyandina Pavamāna*, the last verses of which are *triṣṭubhs*." No doubt, the last verses of the *Mādhyandina Pavamāna* are *triṣṭubhs* (the last *Auśana Sāman* is based on the three *triṣṭubh* verses, *pra tu drava* etc.). But the context hardly refers to this fact. The sentence quoted above from the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* is literally found in *TS* VI. 1. 6 and both these texts deal with the same topic. The words *triṣṭubho loke* cannot be taken to refer to the *Mādhyandina Pavamāna Stotra* but to the *Mādhyandina Savana* (Midday pressing), because the three *savanas* (Morning, Midday and third) are said to have pertained respectively to the *Gāyatrī*, the *Triṣṭubh* and the *Jagatī*. The commentators of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* have explained those words as referring to the Midday pressing itself. As a matter of fact, the giving away of the *dakṣiṇās* does not follow the chanting of the *Mādhyandina Pavamāna*; there are certain other rites in between. It may also be noted that in *Maitrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā*, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* and *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* we meet with a general statement that *dakṣiṇās* are given away in the Midday pressing, thus implying that the *dakṣiṇās* have nothing to do with the composition of the *Mādhyandina Pavamāna*. Gonda has rendered (p. 137) the word *aparimita* occurring in *Atharva Veda* 9. 5. 22 by 'unlimited,' as is usually done. It would, however, be



worthwhile to see whether the meaning of this word occurring in the ritual context would suit here also. It means 'a little over' (cf. *aparimitam pramāṇād bhūyaḥ*, *Kātyāyana Śulbasūtra* 1. 23). The sentence *eṣa vā aparimito yajño yad ajaḥ pañcaudanaḥ* (*Atharva Veda* 9. 5. 21) would mean, "the offering of a he-goat together with five rice-dishes is, indeed, more than a sacrifice."

Another important aspect of Gonda's work is that he has brought into prominence the metaphysical outlook which is found in some of the ritualistic rites. In this connection, reference may be made to the sacrificer's *Viṣṇukrama* rite recorded by the author (p 92). The process of the semantic development of the word *loka* has been further carried on by him to Buddhism and Jainism and also to post-Vedic speculative thought. The reviewer has pleasure to note that Gonda's painstaking brilliant work has been following the correct path which would ultimately lead to the correct estimation of ancient Indian religion and culture. One would expect that the efforts in explaining the key-words in the Vedic literature be shared by the Vedic scholars, particularly those in India.

C. G. KASHIKAR

*THE ESSENCE OF THE VEDAS AND ALLIED SCRIPTURES*, By Basdeo Bissoondoyal. Jaico Publishing House, Bombay-1, 1966. Pp. viii, 154. Rs. 3/-.

Prof. Basdeo Bissoondoyal is a Mauritian who is enthusiastically interested in the inculcation of the universal truths embedded in ancient Indian literature as a remedy to the ills of the modern world. In partial contrast to his earlier book entitled *Les Hindous et leurs écritures sacrées*, being an account, in French, of the sacred literature of the Hindus, reviewed in a previous number of this Journal [ III (1965) 324-25 ], the ultimate purpose of the present book is to set out for the edification of the West, in particular, the cream of Vedic teachings. Thus, the main body of the book comprises of English renderings of nearly four hundred choice passages from the Vedas, grouped under sixty headings. This is followed by an English translation of the *Śivasāṅkalpopaniṣad*, invoking universal peace. Then follow the essential teachings of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the *Yakṣapraśna* of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gītā* and Buddhism. Relevant introductory statements and footnotes are added, at places, drawing attention to the significance of the passages concerned.

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The real contribution of the author, however, is the long Preface (pp. 1-51) which forms an assessment of the value of the Vedic teachings and the role they could play in the world of today. In support of his thesis, he has drawn upon observations on the subject by Greek and Arabic writers besides numerous modern thinkers, philosophers, scientists, churchmen and Orientalists belonging to the West. The section of the Preface setting out the Veda as a *Useful guide* (pp. 25-36) draws pointed attention to the high standards of moral and social life during Vedic times, which one could emulate even today. Some of the selections in the main text, e.g., those under the captions 'The body politic' (pp. 103-7), 'Charity' (pp. 102-3), 'Universal brotherhood and peace' (pp. 121-26) etc. are of topical interest.

The book, however, lacks much, in several respects, from the academic point of view, for instance, in the matter of technical presentation, referential details, facility of consultation, indexing etc. Often, it also tends to overstate things when speaking about the achievements of the Vedic Aryans. However, it has to be conceded that it would meet the need of the general cultured reader, informing the inquisitive, sustaining the wavering and converting the non-believing.

In the course of his Preface, the author makes the pertinent observation that "Some friends of India are anxious to bring home to everyone, prepared to be fair, that this country should be seen in all its grandeur" (p. 49). And, in Prof. Bissoondoyal we have not only such a friend but one who endeavours to bring together such friends.

K. V. SARMA

*DIE VEDISCHE GĀTHĀ- UND ŚLOKA-LITERATUR*, By Paul Horsch. Francke Verlage, Bern, 1966. Pp. vii, 516. DM 65.

In the book under review, Paul Horsch has successfully attempted an exhaustive study of all important aspects of the *Gāthās* and *Ślokas* scattered in the Vedic texts. He has investigated thoroughly the problem of the origin (*Ursprung*) and the nature (*Wesen*) of these verses which are so important from the point of view of both their form and contents. In the detailed study of these problems the author has found it necessary also to describe the relationship of these verses to Buddhism and Jainism and evaluate their effect on later Hinduism. The difficult question regarding the types of people among whom the *Gāthās* and *Ślokas* originated has also been given a scholarly treatment, for, although these stanzas are, as a rule, anonymous, they throw unexpected



light on their milieu when the contexts in which they occur in the Vedic texts are carefully studied.

The book is divided into three main divisions. In the first division the author describes the kinds of literary composition like *Raibhī*, *Nārāsaṃsī*, *Gāthā*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa*, etc. which lie on the borderline of the Vedic literature. In the second division, he brings together the scattered *Gāthās* and *Ślokas* numbering about two hundred. The third division is further divided into chapters like (1) Generalities, (2) Contents, (3) Form, (4) Origin, and (5) Development. In these sections the author gives also detailed accounts of related problems. For example, he discusses the *nārāsaṃsī* verses and the speculative verses in the chapter on *Inhalt* (pp. 251 ff., 295 ff.), the *ākhyāna* theory in the chapter on Form (pp. 307 ff.), and the history of the sages Viśvāmitra and Yājñavalkya in the chapter on *Herkunft* (pp. 370 ff.). The role of these two sages has been summarized thus: Whereas Viśvāmitra must be looked upon as the chief exponent of the old Vedic, proto-epic *Gāthā*-tradition, Yājñavalkya is the most important representative of the speculative mysticism of the Upaniṣads (p. 380).

In the second part of the book, where the author gives the text of the *Gāthās* and *Ślokas* with translation and notes, the parallel passages from other Sanskrit texts, the philological discussions, and the bibliographical references given in the notes are extremely useful.<sup>1</sup> A few places which require to be corrected may be pointed out here :

1. Verse No. 2 (p. 75): The word *idam* has been left out in the translation.

2. Verse No. 3 (p. 75): The final of the word *yāyāt* appears as *-d* in the text, due to *sandhi*. But, when a note is given on this word, it should have been cited as *yāyāt* and not as *yāyād*.

3. Verse No. 4 (p. 76): The word *so* appears twice in this Gāthā, in the first and the last quarters. While commenting on the first quarter, the author says that Weber conjectured *yo* in the place of *so*. But this conjecture could not have been with reference to *so* in the first but in the last quarter. The author here refers to Keith's footnote 1 on p. 254 of his translation of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. Keith observes: "*yo* for *so* is an obvious correction suggested first by Weber and later by Geldner." Keith does not say where Weber made this

1. The reviewer proposes to publish, in a separate paper, his full-fledged comments on the verses collected in this section of the book.



suggestion. In the previous footnote on the same page, Keith refers to Weber's article in *Indische Studien*, 9. 292. If Weber had made this suggestion, it should have occurred in *Ind. Stud.*, 9. 293. But it is not to be found there. Geldner, on the other hand, does say in *ZDMG* 65. 306-7: "Die Gāthā ist nicht ganz korrekt überliefert; so der Schlusszeile ist falsche Form.....Für so ist yo einzusetzen." But, Geldner makes no reference to Weber. (This fact has been recorded by Keith in the above footnote as 'who (i.e., Geldner) overlooks Weber's suggestion of yo' which is likely to be misunderstood).

4. Verse No. 5 (p. 77) : It is surprising that the author ascribes the meaning 'cosmic order' to *ṛta* in spite of Lüders.

5. Verse No. 6 (p. 77) : *asomapaṇi* has been very literally translated as 'wer...keinen Soma trinkt'. It would have been better to render it a little more freely as 'one who does not offer a Soma sacrifice'.

6. Verse No. 59 (p. 115) : *dadate* is, perhaps, not to be rendered as 'empfängt' as done by the author, but as 'sustains' (*dhārayati*). cf. *dadater dhārayatikarmaṇaḥ*, *Nirukta* 2. 2. For a different meaning of *dhārayati* in this *Nirukta* passage, cf. *JAOS* 80. 112 ff.

7. Verse No. 66 (p. 119) : Is *āhnāya* 'für lange zeit' to be emended as *ahnāya* 'instantly'?

The book is beautifully produced and is happily free from serious misprints. A few that occur like *rajño* of *rājño* (p. 108), *Buddhas* for *Budhas* (p. 130), *ṣva(h)* for *śva(h)* (p. 153), *saṃyak* for *samyak* (p. 195), and *lakṣanā* for *lakṣaṇā* (p. 195) can be easily corrected.

M. A. MEHENDALE

*KAVI AND KĀVYA IN THE ATHARVAVEDA*, By N. J. Shende. Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, 1967. Pp. viii, 186. Price not mentioned.

The *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda* by N. J. Shende forms a detailed study of a generally neglected aspect of the Veda, viz. Poetics. With an introductory preamble on the Atharvan *Kavi* and *Kāvya*, Dr. Shende analyses the figures of speech employed in the Atharvan hymns, like *Upamā*, *Rūpaka*, *Virodha*, *Sliṣṭa* and alliteration. The book ends with an appreciation of Atharvan poetry (pp. 151-71). The author has successfully endeavoured to show that "the *Kavi* in the *Atharvaveda* is an omniscient person" and that his "*Kāvya* may be considered to be the precursor of the Classical Sanskrit *Kāvya*." (p. 180).



Some of the basic conclusions of the author are unexceptionable: "The *Atharvaveda* is the earliest document of the *Yatuvidyā* of the Aryans. ...The *Atharvaveda* and the *Rgveda* are the two aspects of one and the same Aryan life, religion and culture." (p. v). "The Atharvanic *Kavis* are dominating, egoistic and extremely confident about their own ability. By the flash of their refulgent *medhā*, which may be called *prajñā* or *pratibhā*, they dive deep into the mysteries of the various forces in the universe. ...To make their knowledge about these forces complete and perfect, they compare and identify the subjects of their *rks* with the various objects around them. This gives rise to the *alaṅkāras* such as *Upamā* and *Rūpaka*." (pp. v-vi).

The present study has required, on the part of the author, the various tools and skills, both of the Vedic and the Classical Sanskrit literature, including *kāvya* and *kāvya-śāstra* (literary criticism). The book reveals, on every page, the author's marvellous command over details and thorough and penetrating analysis. The following are some points, both by way of criticism and appreciation, culled at random while going through the book :

The *Kavi* "is one who transcends time" (p. 1). He is invariably a *krāntadarśin*, which really means, 'one who is able to probe into the past', as indicated in the mantra, *tam (kālam) (aśvam) ārohanti*, *AV* 19.53.1.

*AV* 6.35.3, *stomāni ukthāni ca akṛpat*, (p.4), is wrong, the correct text being *stomam uktham ca cākṛpat*.

While speaking of "*Maniṣā*, the power of controlling the mind" (p. 8), at the back of the author's mind the derivation seems to be *manasaḥ iṣṭe* (✓*iṣ*). But, the *ṣ* in *maniṣā* cannot be accounted for. Patañjali, following Yāska says: *maniṣiṇaḥ manasaḥ iṣiṇaḥ* (Ed. Keilhorn, vol. 1, p. 3). Yāska, *Nirukta* 2. 25 *maniṣayā manasaḥ iṣayā. styutyā. prajñayā vā*. Really, the word boils down to the root ✓*man*, and the rest is a sort of *pratyaya*.

In the *Rgveda*, most of the poets are "*parokṣakṛt* or *pratyakṣakṛt*" (p. 16). The words are really *praokṣakṛta* and *pratyakṣakṛta*. See Yāska's *Nirukta*, 7. 3: *parokṣakṛtāḥ pratyakṣakṛtās ca mantra bhūyiṣṭhāḥ*. The "bowstring is stout and erect, so should *pasa* be" (p. 36). *Pasa* is wrong ; it should be *pasas*. See *AV* 4. 4. 6: *dhanur iva tānayā pasāḥ*. See also *RV* 5. 22. 2 (= *AV* 20. 136. 2) and *AV* 4. 4. 7.

"Creeper embraces a tree" (p. 39). It is called *latāsadhana* in later Tāntrik literature. Cf. the following from *RV* 10. 10. 13-14 (*AV*



18. 1. 15-16), *pari śvajāte libujeva vṛkṣam*, and *AV* 6. 8. 1, *yathā vṛkṣam libujā (lata or vratatiḥ) samantam pariśasvaje*.

"Unity in the midst of diversity" (p. 153). The entire *Bhumisūkta* (*AV* 12. 1. 1-63) visualises, as it were, the present-day India and deserves to be the Indian National Song. In this connection, the epithets *vivācasam* ('of different tongues') and *nānādharmāṇam* ('of many diverse religions and customs') deserve special mention.

And, lastly, *Sāmmanasya* or concord of minds and hearts (p. 176) among the nations and peoples of the world, which is the need of the hour and also of the boundless future (*AV* 3. 30) deserves special notice.

A sad interest attaches to the present publication, in that the author suddenly passed away while the printing was nearing completion. It is to be hoped that the Centre of Advanced Study, Poona University, will see to the publication of the yet unpublished works of Dr. Shende and that his erstwhile colleagues in the Centre will take up and complete the work that Dr. Shende has left partly done.

V. P. LIMAYE

*VEDA SAMĪKṢĀ*, S. V. University Skt. Department Symposium, No. 3, 1967. Pp. 48, 128. Rs. 6/-.

*RĀMAYANA SAMĪKṢĀ*, S. V. University Skt. Department Symposium, No. 4, 1967. Pp. 116. Rs. 5/-.

Both Ed. by E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma. Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati.

We had an occasion, some time back, to welcome the convening of annual Seminars, devoted to specific subjects, by the Sanskrit Department of S. V. University and, also, to review in these columns, the Proceedings Volumes of the Seminars conducted by the Department in 1962 and 1963 on *Kalidāsa Samīkṣā* and *Rūpaka Samīkṣā* [*VIJ* 1 (1963) 351-52 and 3 (1965) 137-38]. It is a matter for gratification that the University has persisted in the yearly conduct of these Seminars; the two volumes under review, here, form the Proceedings of the Third and Fourth Seminars, held, respectively, in 1964 and 1965.

About 30 papers were presented during the Vedic Seminar, nine of them in Sanskrit and the rest in English, most of these being of an elucidative and descriptive nature, rather than research-oriented. Of the latter type may be mentioned a refereshing paper in Sanskrit entitled *Padapāṭhapariśuddhi* by P. B. Annangaracharya, where that veteran



scholar has pointed out several problems relating to the *Taittiriya Samhitā*, for some of which he has also furnished the solutions. M. S. Prakasa Rao analyses, in his paper on 'Vedic economy', the entire concept of economics in the Vedic age. B. R. Sharma marshals convincing arguments in his paper on 'Vedic Aryans and sea voyage', to prove the existence of marine trade during Vedic times. The last paper on 'The Vedas in Saṅgam literature' by N. Subbu Reddiar is particularly noteworthy and portrays the prevalence of the Vedic lore in South India in the heyday of Tamil Saṅgam literature. The author, however, cautions that "the Aryanisation of the Tamils was not the same as civilizing a primitive people." (p. 124). "The Tamil mind had always the genius of assimilating the best of cultures. Aryanisation was not a cultural invasion of the Tamil but a cultural assimilation of what was agreeable in the foreign culture by the Tamils." (*Ibid.*)

The *Rāmāyaṇa Samikṣā* is more compact than the *Veda Samikṣā* in that the papers presented at that Seminar give, mostly, accounts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* tradition in the different regional literatures of India, to wit, Hindi, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam and Jaina traditions. The organisers of the Seminar could do well to continue the *Rāmāyaṇa* theme for one or two more Seminars and have presented before those Seminars accounts of that epic in other regional literatures, all the papers, together making, ultimately, a full-fledged monograph on *Rāmāyaṇa literature in India*.

Lovers of Sanskrit and Indian culture would be thankful to the S. V. University not only for conducting these Seminars but for promptly arranging for the publication of the Proceedings thereof, and, thus, extending the benefit of these Seminars to outside scholars as well.

K. V. SARMA

ṢADVIMŚA BRĀHMAṆA with Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa.  
Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha Series No. 9. Pp. 25, 306.  
Rs. 20/-

ARṢEYA BRĀHMAṆA with Vedārthaprakāśa of Sāyaṇa.  
K. S. V. Series No. 8. Pp. 20, 352. Price Rs. 18.50.

SAMAVEDĀRṢEYADĪPA of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskarādhvarindra. K. S.  
V. Series No. 7. Pp. xix, 202. Rs. 13.50.

All edited by B. R. Sharma, Director, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, 1967.



Dr. B. R. Sharma, who has already edited critically the *Sāma-vidhāna Brāhmaṇa* with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bharatasvāmin (K. S. V. Series No. 1) and the *Devatādhyāya-Saṁhitopaniṣad-Vamśa Brāhmaṇas* (K. S. V. Series, Nos. 2-4), all belonging to the *Sāmaveda*, reviewed in these columns [ *VIJ* 3 (1965) 309-12 and 4 (1966) 285-87 ], has enthusiastically continued the activity in this line in the three volumes under review. With this, he has brought out six of the eight *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda* with commentary. Every lover of Vedic literature, particularly of the *Sāmaveda*, will be grateful to Dr. Sharma for making these long out of print texts easily available for study and reference.

The edition of the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* is based on nine manuscripts of the text with commentary and two of the text alone. The editor has consulted H. F. Eelsingh's edition of the work (Leiden, 1908), but has not, however, used its two Indian editions (Calcutta, 1871, 1883). In the Introduction he has discussed the contents and grammatical peculiarities of the *Brāhmaṇa*. The variants have been recorded in foot-notes and important readings have been discussed in the Critical Notes at the end. In four Appendixes, numbered A-D, have been given a Glossary of technical words, Quotations in the text and commentary from the *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* etc., Quotations from the *Sūtras*, and a List of *gānas* occurring in the text and the commentary. A word-Index is also provided.

There is a discrepancy between the earlier editions of the work and the present one with regard to the arrangement of the text. While the former divide the text into five *Prapāṭhakas*, the present edition does so in six *Adhyāyas*, possibly due to a different tradition recorded in the Mss. used here, though that has not been made clear by the editor. The editor has tried to improve the text at some places, being led, mostly, by the commentary. One would have, however, to be very cautious in these matters. Thus in 1.1.30 he reads: *āhutaya eva [bhāgadheyam] devānām dakṣiṇā manuṣyadevānām*. The addition of *bhāgadheyam* is suggested by the commentary which reads: *āhutaya eva bhāgadheyam*. But the text can do without it. In 2.1.6 he reads: *retasyā [gāyatrī] chandasā prajāpatyā devatayā*. But the word *gāyatrī* is indicated by *retasya*, which is the first verse of the *Buḥiṣpavamāna stotra* which is in the *gāyatrī* metre. For a similar use, see 2.2.8, *retasyā chando yujyate*. The passage 4.1.16 reads: *vidhavāyā iva tv evai 'taj janma yad asāmnī caturthī*. Here, the editor has proposed in brackets the reading *ive'ty evai'taj*, but the original reading is quite comprehensible; the word *va* is specially significant.



With regard to a few exorcistic sacrifices prescribed in the Brāhmaṇa (4. 2-5) the editor says: "This, in plain, betrays the manipulation of the priest-craft to exploit the man's weakness with appropriate Vedic rituals for personal and mundane gains. Whatever may be the history and original intention of sacrificial institutions, it is clear that the sacrifices were later performed for gaining worldly position and distinction, for destruction of one's enemy...." (Intro., p. 18). A study of the religious practices in the ancient world would reveal the fact that man entertained various desires, good and bad, and resorted to ritualistic practices in order to fulfil them. The Vedic man was no exception to this. The exorcistic rites need not be regarded as a later phase of religion, nor the manipulation be reasonably attributed to the priestly class.

For his edition of the *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*, Dr. Sharma has consulted four Mss. of the text with commentary and four of the text only. He does not seem to have used, for the purpose, the earlier editions by Burnell (Mangalore, 1876) and by Satyavrata Sāmaśrami (Calcutta, 1874, 1892). He has noted the variant readings in the foot-notes and has discussed important readings in his Critical Notes. In the Appendix have been given the citations from other works referred to in the commentary followed by an index of *Sāma-gānas*.

From the name of the Brāhmaṇa, it would seem to appear that the work comprises of a list of the *R̥sis* of the Sāman chants. Actually, however, it is a register of names of *gānas* with alternative names, if any, which would, in some cases, indicate the names of the *R̥sis*. The editor has stated that "the Ms K, compared to other Mss, is most accurate". (Intro., p. 19). A clear proof for the superior tradition of the Ms K (Trivandrum) is, as the editor has pointed out, that under 3.11.8, *sāvitrāṇi śaṭ*, it actually gives the beginnings of six Sāvitra sāmans. The edition of *Sāmagānas* published by Sātavalekar gives only the first *gāna*. In view of this position of K, more attention to its readings would have been advisable. One may compare the readings *īdṛśo* in the commentary on 1.1.2 and *prāpyam phalam kim ? phalābhāve pravṛtṭyanupapatteḥ* (1.1.3). The Mss CK read *ity āha* in the commentary on 5.1.4. There is no reason why the editor should discard it and conjecturally adopt *ityādi*. The passage 4.10.7 reads *udvaṁśaputraś ca* where the editor has proposed *udvaṁśaputrasya ca*. It would be more reasonable to conjecture *udvaṁśaputram ca*. The passage 1.1.7 reads: *r̥ṣiṇām saṁsthāno bhavati, saṁsthāno bhavati brahmaṇaḥ*. Sāyaṇa has rendered the word *saṁsthāno* as *saṁānasthāno*



at both the occurrences. K reads *sasthāno* for *saṁsthāno* at both the places. No variant is recorded in the commentary. So, following the commentary, the editor seems to have adopted the reading *saṁsthāno*. The Calcutta edition has *sasthāno* at both the places. Burnell's text reads *svasthāno* at the first occurrence and *sasthāna* at the second. The commentary in Burnell's edition has *sasthānaḥ* first and *saṁsthānaḥ* for the second time. Consequently, the correct reading in the text would be *sasthāno* at both the places, which is the reading found also in the *Sāmavedārṣeyadīpa*.

In his Introduction to the edition of *Devatādhyāya-Saṁhitopaniṣad-Vaiṁśa Brāhmaṇas*, the editor had expressed his considered view that the eight Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda* were actually eight books of a greater Brāhmaṇa known as *Mahābrāhmaṇa* or *Prauḍhabrāhmaṇa*. The present reviewer in his review, mentioned above, had, also, expressed his disagreement with that view. In the Introduction to *Ārṣeyabrāhmaṇa* (pp. 10-13), the editor has reiterated his conviction, though he notices that tradition goes against his view and that all the eight Brāhmaṇas do not belong to the same age. It is difficult to understand the force in his argument when he says that just as Sabhā, Droṇa, Karṇa etc. are the different books of one greater book *Mahābhārata*, these eight Brāhmaṇas together should have been called the *Mahābrāhmaṇa* or *Prauḍhabrāhmaṇa*. The editor also observes that the collective Brāhmaṇa was also called *Pañcaviṁśa* or *Tāṇḍya*, but this is hypothetical. In fact, the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa* was called the *Mahābrāhmaṇa* or *Prauḍhabrāhmaṇa* for the simple reason that it was the first and decidedly more extensive than any other Brāhmaṇa belonging to the *Sāmaveda*. As a direct evidence to prove the single unit of the *Ārṣeya* and the *Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇas*, Dr. Sharma quotes a *sūtra* from the *Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇa* and Sāyaṇa's commentary on a certain *kārikā* mentioning *Devatā* and *Ṛṣi* together. Such a conjunction can be explained away on the ground that the Brāhmaṇakāra and Sāyaṇa desired only to bring out the significance of the knowledge of the *Ṛṣi* and *Devatā* of a *Sāman* which are, respectively, the subjects of the *Ārṣeya* and *Devatādhyāya Brāhmaṇas*. Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that the *Ārṣeya* and the *Devatādhyāya* were two parts of a single Brāhmaṇa, the contention of the remaining six Brāhmaṇas being the six parts of a single book remains unproved.

Satyavrata Sāmaśrami is of the view that originally there was a *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa* consisting of the *Tāṇḍya*, the *Pañcaviṁśa* and the *Mantropaniṣad*, and that the remaining five were the *Anubrāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda*, and that the term *Cātvarīṁśa* mentioned in Pāṇini



5.1.62 would denote the collective *Taṇḍya Mahabrāhmaṇa* consisting of the *Pañcaviṃśa* (chapters 25), the *Ṣaḍviṃśa* (chapters 5) and the *Chāndogya* (chapters 10) (Preface to *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*, 1892). Durgamohan Bhattacharya (*Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*, Intro., p. xxi.), supporting Sāmaśrami's contention, points out that Śaṅkara (*Brahmasūtra* 3.3. 25-26, 36) has referred to the passages of both the Mantra portion and the Upaniṣad portion of the *Chāndogya Brāhmaṇa*. It may, however, be noted that the total number of chapters in these three Brāhmaṇas does not make forty. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that by the term *Catvāriṃśa* Pāṇini meant the Brāhmaṇa of the Kauthūmas.

The *Sāmavedārṣeyadīpa* is a systematic record of metres, deities and ṛṣis of the ṛks and gānas of the *Sāmaveda*. While preparing his edition of the *Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa*, Burnell had utilised a manuscript of this work. The present edition is based on four Mss. Variant readings have been recorded in the foot-notes, and important readings have been discussed in the Critical Notes at the end. Appendix A gives an alphabetical Index of the names of *Sāmagānas* in *Grāmageya* and *Āraṇyaka* with their original verses and ṛṣis. Appendix B is an alphabetical list of the ṛṣis of the *Sāmgānas*.

Nothing is known about the author of this work, Bhaṭṭa Bhāskarādhvarindra. The editor has made a close comparative study of the gānas involved herein, and has pointed out that even though the author generally follows the Kauthūma recension in recording the names of the ṛṣis and deities of the gānas, sometimes he records the facts about the Jaiminiya recension also. At a few places the information supplied by him does not tally with either of the recensions. It may be observed here that in the ritualistic literature one often meets with cases where an author belonging to a particular Vedic school ignores his own school, to a certain extent, in laying down the various injunctions, under the influence of another school. The present treatise is but an instance of this tendency.

A common feature of the three works under review is that the specific sign for the *anunāsika*, which is generally expected, is nowhere used. One comes across, also, more printing errors than those recorded in the Errata. The irregularity of punctuation marks is sometimes felt.

Notwithstanding the few observations made above, it is patent that the editor has taken great pains in critically editing these texts, and the student of the Veda will thank him for having made the books available for study in excellent printing and get-up.



*NIRUKTA NOTES*, By M. A. Mehendale. Deccan College, Poona. Series I, 1965. Pp. 73. Rs. 10/-.

### I. Introductory

For years, the writings of Dr. M. A. Mehendale have been rousing the present reviewer's unusual interest. In the *Nirukta Notes*, reviewed here, one would find the same thoroughness, the same penetrative analysis and the same urge for delicate shades of meaning. Not only this, but one would find additional approaches as well. *The Etymologies of Yāska* (1953), by the present reviewer, had no doubt attempted to categorize all the etymologies of Yāska under certain standards of evaluation, but the context of the treatment could not permit to go further. The book under review has opened new vistas for approach to Yāska, as the following will show.

### II. Sanskrit usage, first great approach to Yāska

The paper on *viścakadrākaraṣa-*, (pp. 50-72), besides being by far the most erudite of the author's papers, may be called the beginning of a new approach to the study of Yāska, viz., the study of Sanskrit usage as it was current in the age of Yāska. We have been hearing about the etymologies, the morphologies and the syntax of Sanskrit, but we hear almost nothing about the usage of Sanskrit. Now, the author's treatment of *vātavega*, for *garuḍa* (p. 58), has led him to bring to bear on a single word an enormous number of associated words from the whole domain of Sanskrit literature. It is a brilliant example of a comprehensive erudition. The note on *ākaraṣa-śvā*, 'one who draws lines on the ground with his foot, as a dog does' (p. 61), is simply masterly. It includes parallel passages on a person's drawing of lines in the hours of excitement.

### III. The methodology for Sanskrit usage

For the presentation of this usage, the author's tremendous efforts to study a single word like *viścakadra-* by handling the elements thereof, viz., *vi-* or *viś-* (?) and *cak-* or *cakadra-* (?), are notable. And, the treatment of every element has called forth parallel passages from literature, which are an inspiring challenge to the 'indexed scholarship' of the present day.

### IV. Essentials of *viś-cakadrākaraṣa-*

On p. 71, the author has ably expounded *viścakadrākaraṣa-*, 'a person scratching the ground with his foot, as a dog', but on p. 52, he has equated Yāska's interpretation of *viścakadra-* as a 'dog', which



may be questioned, for, Yāska never equated *viścakadra-* with a dog ; he equated it only with 'the movements of the dog' (*śvagatau*).

#### V. Usage versus algebraic approach

How far Sanskrit usage may actually diverge from the algebraic approach of our Koṣas may be illustrated from the author's treatment of *bāḍhā-* in various Sanskrit contexts. While our Koṣas generally explain *bāḍha-* as 'excess', the author's parallel passages like *ava-bāḍha* 'overcome' from *Taittirīya Samhitā* 1.3.2.1, and *avabāḍha-* 'buried', *RV* 1.106.6, in a ritualistic context, tell an entirely different tale.

#### VI. Usage 'sublimates' *vāyasa-* to a 'cock'

Very interesting indeed is the author's discovery of contexts in which usage had given the sense of 'cock' to *vāyasa-*, generally understood in the sense of a crow. Besides, the associated words *niśāvedin-* and *abūbudhat*, *kṛkavākusavitārah* has been cited from the *Taittirīya* and *Vājasaneyi Samhitās*, while a citation, on page 20 from *Vendidad kahrkatāt* in the sense of the cock is thrilling indeed (p. 20), indicating a very intimate social relationship between Iranian and Indo-Aryan people during some period of antiquity.

#### VII. Usage makes *siddha-* 'a competitor'

The author's able treatment of usage has inspired the present reviewer to extend it to the sense of *siddha-* as happily envisaged by Yāska in 6.28 in the phrase *ratharyāti siddhas tat prepsuḥ*. While the author, on page 34 (first line) is satisfied with the morphological approach by treating *siddhaḥ* as 'a derivative formation', the usage of the age, according to Yāska's statement, took *siddhaḥ* in the sense of that competitor, who was aspiring for a chariot in a race, so that *siddhaḥ* was presumably the public's euphemistic phrase used for encouraging purpose.

#### VIII. Complications of usage

The complications of usage could not be better illustrated than by the various situations in which *daṇḍa-* and associated words like *dhr-*, and *dad-* were used. The author has faced all these complications very energetically (pp. 22 ff.). The treatment is a marvel of Vedic and epic scholarship. He avails of the verb *dhr-* in the sense of 'to hold in trust' in a legend in connection with a jewel. This paper, although very penetrating, unfortunately, concludes abruptly, and does not touch at all, in the end, the title of the paper. It is not clear what light it could throw on the structure of the word *daṇḍa-*, but it has amassed a wonderful collection of data on the complication of usage



of words used directly or indirectly in connection with *daṇḍa-* — a collection which could be of use to further researches in the field.

### IX. The relic of a usage

Durga had interpreted *viś-cakadrākārṣa-* as 'a person who punishes one whose livelihood is on dogs'. The author on page 61, thinks that the present reviewer in his book on p. 144. had apparently supported this view of Durga. The actual phraseology used by the present reviewer was that "it may be the relic of an idiom, but it awaits investigation". The present context under discussion shows that the 'idiom' envisaged was 'usage', the actuality of which awaits exploration.

### X. The treatment of Yāska's etymologies

In his treatment of Yāska's etymologies, the author is, unconsciously, though happily, in accord with the linguistic spirit of the age, which is generally averse to etymologies, the demands of which are infinitely higher than those which dominated the 19th century. A few of these etymologies may be illustrated here :

#### 1. *Correlates dru- : drā-*

On page 55, the author has happily established the relationship of *dru-* and *drā-*. It is interesting and reminds one of Hirt's theory of disyllabic bases in Indo-European. On p. 124 of his book entitled *Der Indogermanische Vokalismus*, he illustrates *dhāmītás*, *dhīmāntás*, 'blown'. Correspondingly one could set up, *\*dravītás*, *\*drātás-*.

#### 2. *Etymology of sīmataḥ*, 'all-inclusive'

Regarding the etymology of *sīmataḥ*, the author happily quotes a very helpful background, viz., Roth's *sīman-*, which beautifully tallies with Yāska's *parigrahārthīya-* for *sīmataḥ*.

#### 3. *Concept underlying artha-*

According to the author (p. 43) the basic concept underlying *artha-* is some sort of movement. The movement element at the basis of *artha-* is undeniable. But it is far from being adequate. It would drag us to the 'metaphysics' of language. But if we refer to the *Petersbourg Wörterbuch* we shall see that *ar-* means 'to be closely related'. Above all, *artha-* represents some relationship.

#### 4. *Basic concept underlying saṁtāvītvat*

The paper on *saṁtāvītvat*, 'accomplishing' (pp. 35-41), is a model of scholastic wrestling. There are two possibilities regarding Yāska's approach to this word : (1) he has loosely derived it from *tan-*, as



many of his derivations are of loose type, (2) the real target of his derivation is *tu-*, for which he uses *tan-* as a paraphrase.

### XI. The data of Sandhi phenomena

1. While the author's dynamic imagination used in contemplating how Pāṇini may have pronounced *tryarcá-* (p. 4) is worthy of appreciation, it is feared that his effort attends to the phenomena of external *Sandhi*, while the data of the *Peterbourg Wörterbuch* show that *trcá-* was actually pronounced even during the age of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.

2. In the *sandhi* of *trcá-*, the author considers two possibilities : (a) It is a replacement of simple *r* (*ekādeśa-*)—a substitution. It is a neat description, which is the usual method of Pāṇini. But this will never satisfy the 'processive' phenomena of Descriptive Linguistics. This replacement was the finalisation of a process, which has to be definitely ascertained. (b) It was a 'vocalization' of *r* (p. 1, para 2, 5th line). In the light of descriptive linguistics, this term may perhaps be toned down, for, in structural terminology, it is more of a vocalic realization than vocalization proper.

### XII. Cerebral *l* as an environmental product

Regarding the pronunciation of *l* in Vedic language, the author seems to take *l* as a phoneme in Vedic language, but it is notable that in the *Rkprātiśākhya*, 1.14, *l* does not occur in the inventory of Vedic sounds. In 1. 51-52, it does mention *l* as a regional phoneme under the authority of Vedamitra, being a realization of intervocalic *ḍ*.

### XIII. Conclusion

The above data, it may be presumed, will give us the following points :

(1) The topmost contribution of this book is a profound initiative, viz., a systematic study of Sanskrit usage in the time of Yāska. The author's approach indicates a tremendously vast equipment of associated parallel passages from the whole domain of Sanskrit literature, Vedic as well as Classical.

(2) This new approach may further stimulate a wider field, of which usage is only a branch, viz., of Sanskrit Stylistics, about which almost nothing has been done so far, "Stylistics discusses the nuances of meanings and usage of one word in comparison with others," says Harris in his paper on 'Discourse Analysis' in *Structure of Language*, Vol. II, p. 356.



(3) The author's vivid imagination, curious to set up how Pāṇini actually pronounced *tryarcā-*, may prove to be a link in the chain of 'Processive Phonology' in this country, a few indications of which are visible.

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

*PHITSŪTRAS OF ŚĀNTANAVA*, Ed. with Introduction, Translation and Critical and Exegetical Notes By G. V. Devasthali. Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Poona, 1967. Pp. x, 159. Price not mentioned.

The *Phitsūtras* of Śāntanavācārya (or Śāntanu, as he is called by some authorities) is a small work comprising of 88 (or 87) sūtras dealing with the accentuation of *Phit* which denotes *Prātipadika*. Although this work does not belong to the Pāṇiniyan system, in view of its importance, it is incorporated in works like the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. An edition of the work was brought out in 1866 by Kielhorn with the corresponding sections of the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and Nāgeśa's *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* and an anonymous *Vṛtti*; but this has long ceased to be available and a new edition of the work has been a desideratum. The present edition is based on Kielhorn's edition and three original manuscripts in the Bhandakar Oriental Research Institute. The text is followed by a faithful English translation and detailed critical and explanatory Notes. There is a long Introduction dealing, mainly, with the bearing of the *Phitsūtras* on Vedic accentuation. Two Indices, one of the sūtras and the other of the words, are also provided.

Prof. Devasthali has accomplished his task with characteristic thoroughness and his work bears ample testimony to his deep study of the text and its problems. The Editorial Introduction makes a survey of the work as a whole and gives an appreciation thereof, taking into account its strong as well as weak points and indicating the extent to which it can serve the purpose of Vedic exegesis. It also establishes that Śāntanava is later than Pāṇini but not far removed from him (p. 39), that they must have belonged to two separate schools having not only separate technical terms but even separate gaṇas (p. 28), that while Pāṇini adopts the *vyutpattipakṣa* with regard to the *prātipadikas*, Śāntanava adopts the *avyutpattipakṣa* (p. 4) and that the *Phitsūtra* is much inferior to Pāṇini's work (p. 7) and yields only a working acquaintance with the subject of accentuation (p. 44), but can, nevertheless, be declared to be best Introduction to it (p. 45).



In the Notes the variants in the readings and the differences in interpretations with regard to every sūtra is discussed and sometimes emendations are suggested and original interpretations offered. The emendation of *ca* in *Sāṅkāśyakāmpilyanāsikyadārvāghaṭanām ca* (3. 16) into *antaḥ pūrvam vā* on the basis of the *Kāśikā* is acceptable since it yields a more satisfactory sense than the laboured explanation of Nāgeśa, although there is no manuscript sanction to this. So also is the ingenious suggestion to take *hiṣṭha* and *vatsara* in 1. 7 as *hi*, *stha*, *vat*, *sa* and *ra* so as to make the sūtra to be in conformity with observed usage. For instance, we get many examples of words ending in *hi* and *stha* being *antodātta* which the sūtra lays down, while the words ending in *hiṣṭha* are found to be *ādyudātta*. But the suggestion to emend *sima* in *tattvasamasimetyanuccāni* (4. 10) into *sīmim* on the ground that *sima* is not found as enclitic in Veda, requires reconsideration in view of Patañjali's statement, *yatrānudattaprakṛtiḥ samatvam simatvam* (P. 6. 1. 158) and Nāgeśa's citation of this very sūtra as the authority for this ; also, since the *Phitsūtras* do not concern the Veda exclusively.

An examination of the material outside that which has been utilised for the present edition, shows still further differences in reading and interpretation. For example, Viṭṭhala's *Prasāda*, commentary on the *Prakriyākaumudī*, omits the sūtra *pāṭalā* etc. (1. 2). It reads *janapadaśabdānām aṣāntānām* (2. 24) with *aṣāntānām* for the latter word, thereby widening the scope of the sūtra from vowel-endings to consonant-endings except *ṣ* also. The sūtra *rājaviśeṣasya yamanvā cet* (2. 18) deserves particular notice. Bhaṭṭoji explains *yamanvā* as *vṛddha* (of course in the grammatical sense) and gives as example *āṅgaḥ* and as counter-example *aṅgaḥ*. The *Phitsūtravṛtti* and, following it, Nāgeśa draw a distinction between *vṛddha* and *yamanvā* and explain the latter as a word which becomes *vṛddha* by some grammatical process (*kṛtavṛddha*) in contrast with the former which is *vṛddha* by itself. We are unable to know the authority for Bhaṭṭoji's explanation. Since the *Phitsūtras* deal with *ruḍhaśabdas*, it is also doubtful whether the subtle distinction drawn between *vṛddha* and *yamanvā* is really called for. This sūtra is read in the *Prasāda* as *rājaviśeṣasya yamanvākhyā cet* and the examples are *pañcālāḥ*, *vaṅgaḥ* which are not *vṛddha* at all. In the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Bhaṭṭoji in Kerala, we find a still different reading, namely, *rājaviśeṣasya viṣayamanvākhyā cet* and the explanation is *viṣayānūsarināmno rājaviśeṣasyādir udattaḥ syāt, pañcālāḥ, aṅgaḥ*. The reading of the sūtra *khāntasyāsmādeḥ* (1. 6) in a manuscript in the Trivandrum collection



seems to be *khāntasya nāsmādeḥ*. Additional material like this can be included in the Critical Apparatus when the next edition is prepared.

As stated by Dr. Dandekar in his Foreword, the present is a competently prepared edition of the *Phitsūtras* which seemed to have been almost relegated to oblivion for quite a long time. Dr. Devasthali and the authorities of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit in the University of Poona, under the auspices of which this edition is brought out, deserve the congratulations of the scholarly public.

S. VENKITASUBRAMONIA IYER

*THE SPHOTANIRŪPA OF KAUNḌA BHATṬA*, Ed. with Introduction, Translation and critical and exegetical Notes, By S. D. Joshi. University of Poona, 1967. Pp. v, 244. Price not mentioned.

These are days of linguistics. The great advance that this science is making in western countries is reflected also in the language studies in the Universities and Research institutions of India. The importance of the work of Pāṇini, the great ancient Indian grammarian, has been understood in the western countries, ever since the latter half of the nineteenth century, resulting in the imparting of a new outlook to linguistic studies, in considerable progress in comparative grammar and in the birth of General Linguistics. This rapidly advancing science is leading to a fresh analysis of the data available in the work of the Pāṇinian school of Sanskrit grammarians. The work under review is an example of this new trend. As the author puts it: "It has been my endeavour to set forth the ancient Indian theories through the medium of modern linguistic terminology and idiom, so that the introduction should evoke interest among Sanskritists as well as non-Sanskritist linguisticians." (Preface, p. ii).

The work is in three parts: (1) an Introduction in which there is a critical exposition of the *Sphoṭa* doctrine, (2) the edition of *Sphoṭanirūpa* of Kaunḍabhaṭṭa, being the last chapter of his *Vaiyākaraṇa-bhūṣaṇasāra* and (3) Translation and Notes.

There is not much to say about the edition itself, because the text is substantially the same as in the previous editions, except that the punctuation is the editor's own and that the obvious mistakes found in some of the other editions have been corrected. Nor is there much



to say about the translation. It is accurate and clear and is obviously the work of one who knows the Pāṇinian system quite well. The Notes are quite interesting and throw a good deal of light on the text and the translation.

There remains the Introduction which is certainly the most valuable part of the work. It is not a mere exposition of the contents of the text translated, as a kind of help to its study. It is a critical account of the concept of the *Sphoṭa* as found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari and the works of the later grammarians like Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa. It gives plenty of evidence of deep study of the relevant texts. All statements are supported by citations from the original sources. Everywhere the author has come to his own conclusions, which he states in the language of modern linguistics. Sometimes his conclusions are unusual and one may wonder whether they will be accepted, at all. For example, he holds that according to Bhartṛhari, *Sphoṭa* is not the indivisible, sequenceless meaning-bearing unit of speech. He says: "In this respect, the final view of Bhartṛhari seems to be that *dhvani* represents the articulate sound associated with gross matter whereas the *Sphoṭa* represents a class-sound, sorted and extracted by the listener from the gross sound matter." (Intro., p. 49-50). According to him, Bhartṛhari recognises three entities, *Dhvani*, *Sphoṭa* and *Śabda*, as Patañjali had done before him. For Patañjali, *Sphoṭa* "refers to the constant element in the auditory image of the varied articulated sounds, whereas the term *dhvani* refers to the physical articulated sound which is associated with length, tempo and various peculiarities of the individual speaker." (Intro., p. 15). The chief point which Joshi makes is that later grammarians have not given a correct interpretation of Bhartṛhari's statements on the *Sphoṭa*. Bhartṛhari is true to Patañjali but not the later grammarians to Bhartṛhari.

In saying all this, the author has raised a big question which it would be beyond the scope of this review to consider. The author's interpretation may be a plausible one. But, is it more than that? However that may be, he has presented his case very clearly, with plenty of textual authority. If one differs from him in the interpretation of individual passages and feels that some more relevant passages have to be considered, not to speak of the background of Bhartṛhari's thought and the interpretation of early writers chronologically not far removed from Bhartṛhari himself, it would only be normal in the study of such ancient works, even the text of which is, sometimes, not satisfactorily



settled. For his part, Joshi has made an interesting contribution to the literature on *Sphoṭa*. He has rendered great service by translating this rather difficult text, bristling with technicalities.

K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER

*TIT-BITS ON LINGUISTICS*, By N. C. Nath, Shyamkuti, Nagwa, Varanasi-5, 1967. Pp. 8. Rs. 1/50.

We have in the Pamphlet reviewed here two short papers on linguistics. In the first, entitled 'The Palatal law—how far is it valid?', the author points out the non-operation of the Law of Palatalisation in as many as 31 instances. According to this law, Indo-European guttural consonants, mainly, middle gutturals and velars, change into the corresponding palatal consonants in Indo-Iranian when followed by the palatal vowel 'e' (= Skt. 'a'; Gk., L, 'e'), 'i' and remain unchanged when followed by a non-palatal vowel 'a', 'o' (= Skt. 'a'; Gk., L 'a', 'o'). The generally accepted rule that Indo-European vowels 'a', 'e' and 'o' are represented in Sanskrit only by 'a' is based on the validity of the above phonetic law. Obviously, when the basis of this law is questioned, the soundness of the reason behind the aforesaid vowel-change in Sanskrit also becomes doubtful.

The second paper entitled 'Some etymologies and other philological discourses', is a miscellaneous list of incomplete etymologies and other offhand views on some 87 words and phrases, collected, without any apparent order, from four different languages, namely, Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali and English. This paper has, obviously, given this pamphlet the title *Tit-bits on linguistics*.

S. BHASKARAN NAIR

*SĀṆKARŚAKĀṆDA OF SAGE JAIMINI WITH THE BHĀṢYA OF DEVASVĀMIN*, Edited critically by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Reader in Sanskrit, University of Madras, Madras. 1965. Pp. xliii, xxxviii, 260. Rs. 3/-.

A critical edition of the *Sāṅkarśakāṇḍa*, Chapter I, was brought out by K. V. Sarma as *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series* 18, with a detailed Introduction, in 1963. Ever since that date, scholars interested in the *Mīmāṃsā-śāstra* have been eagerly awaiting the appearance in print of the whole work. This expectation has, now, been amply fulfilled by the book under review. Besides the original *sūtras* and Devaśvāmin's *Bhāṣya*, the edition carries Introductions in English and Sanskrit which discuss relevant topics, give the analytical contents



of the whole work and indicate the subject matter according to the *adhikaraṇas*.

For long, the authenticity of the *Saṅkarsakāṇḍa* itself had been questioned, and it is only recently that a strong case had been made for the work to be admitted as a genuine work of Jaimini (*Vide* Introduction by K. V. Sarma to his edition of the work, pp. ix-xv). The present edition of this work, together with an ancient commentary on it, can be said to have decided the question finally.

An important problem with regard to this work is the settling of the text of the *sūtras*. There is a good deal of disparity between the *sūtras* in this work and those in the other twelve chapters of Jaimini's work (and also other kindred *sūtra* texts). Some peculiarities of this work have been noticed by the editor and a few more can be easily gathered on a perusal of the edition. The main source of difficulty in this respect, however, arises out of the fact that in all the available *Bhāṣya* manuscripts, the *sūtras* and the *Bhāṣya* are so mixed up that it becomes often very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to determine the exact text and the extent of the *sūtras*. In some manuscripts, only the *adhikaraṇa sūtras* are given, so that difficulty arises regarding the other *sūtras* of the *adhikaraṇa*, which, in the commentary, are naturally represented only by their *pratīkas*. Unfortunately, no manuscript containing the *sūtra* text in full has been discovered ; and, this makes the settling of the *sūtra-pāṭha* all the more difficult.

The editor has explained the criteria on the basis of which he has tried to restore the individual *sūtras* and thus arrive at a full text. In spite of his best efforts, however, the *sūtra-pāṭha* cannot be said to have been finally settled. Thus, for example, at 1. 2. 3 the editor has adopted the reading *līṅgāc ca* against the *sūtra-pāṭha* (Ms) reading, *līṅgadarśanāc ca* (given in the footnote). Apparently, there seems to be some confusion regarding the two readings in the mind of the editor, and this has resulted in the curious phenomenon that out of a dozen places given in Appendix A for the *sūtra*, *līṅgadarśanāc ca*, six are found to read *līṅgāc ca*. Similarly, at 1. 3. 19, the editor mentions in a footnote the reading *guṇāptikārāt* as the reading of the *SP* Mss.; but, without giving any thought to it, he has chosen to read *guṇavikāro hi*, on what authority it is hard to understand. The Ms reading, referred to above, could well have been adopted with a slight emendation as *guṇād vikārāt*. Another case of this type is found at 1. 4. 42, where the editor has added a whole clause, *yathā śurpeṇa juhōti iti*, though it is not found in the *SP* Mss. The emendation in 1. 3. 49,



however, is quite legitimate, though the same can hardly be said of the emendations made and readings adopted in several other places.

A word must also be said about the editing of the *Bhāṣya*, which appears to be the only ancient commentary that is available in full at present. Here, the most intriguing point is the remark at the beginning of the commentary on 3. 2. 1, viz. *asmin pāde 'apūrvatvāt tathā some' ityārabhya āpādaparisamāpteḥ Bhavadāsam eva bhāṣyam* (p. 132). Shri Sastri's view (Introduction p. v) concerning this remark is that they must be the words of the scribe who copied the whole work and who, not finding the *Bhāṣya* of Devasvāmin upon that *pāda*, would have copied the *Bhāṣya* of *Bhavadāsa* for that portion alone. Here, one must, first, try to determine what portion actually constitutes the *Bhāṣya* of *Bhavadāsa*.

The remark itself has occurred (and printed in this edition) just at the beginning of the commentary on 3. 2. 1; and this, naturally, leads one to think that by *asmin pāde* the writer is referring to 3. 2 only. This view (which appears to be shared by the editor), however, is not correct. The author of the remark, whosoever he is, has made quite clear the limits of the *Bhavadāsiya Bhāṣya*, quoting the *sūtra* from where it commences and by declaring that it runs to the end of that *pāda*. This clearly shows that the *Bhāṣya* under discussion pertains to that *pāda*, where the *sūtra*, *apūrvatvāt tathā some*, is found. Now, since that *sūtra* is found in this edition in 3. 1 (after *sūtra* 29), it follows that the *Bhavadāsiya Bhāṣya* mentioned in the above remark is the *Bhāṣya* from 3. 2. 29, (30 ?) upto the end of that *pāda*. In the light of this situation, we can understand that the remark *asmin pāde* etc. pertains to the *pāda* just ended (and not the one just commenced). It also explains why there mark has come just at the beginning of 3. 2. In fact, the proper place for this remark would be the end of the *Bhāṣya* on 3. 1. 44, which is referred to by the word *āpādasamāpteḥ* in that remark. The editor is aware of the fact that the *sūtra* *apūrva* etc., is in 3. 1 and not in 3. 2. But he is misled by the position of the remark under 3. 2. 1; and hence he has remarked: "This *sūtra* is not found in this *pāda*. But is found in *pāda* 1." To convey the proper significance of the remark, the editor would have done well to print it as the concluding sentence of the *Bhāṣya* on 3. 1. 44; or, more appropriately still, to have relegated it to a footnote, for it is not a portion of any *Bhāṣya* at all. By the by, this also would show that the *sūtra*, *apūrvatvāt tathā some*, presents a problem which requires a more close and careful consideration.



On going through the *Bhāṣya* itself, one finds several places where the editor could do nothing more than leave the text in a laconic condition. He was helpless and had to leave the matter where it stood. All this, however, does not minimise the value of the work under review, which has its own importance, not only in the field of *Mīmāṃsā* but even in that of Śrauta ritual. The editor deserves hearty thanks from scholars interested in these fields, for having provided them with a practically complete edition of this important work with a good Introduction and helpful Appendices.

G. V. DEVASTHALI

*TRIUMPH OF A HERO—VĪRAVĪJAYA*, Translated from the Sanskrit of Shri Swami Mangalnathji, By Hari Prasad Shastri. 1961. Pp. v, 73. 10 sh. 6 d.

*INDIAN MYSTIC VERSE*, Translated by Hari Prasad Shastri, 1963. Pp. viii, 203. 18 sh.

Both published by Shanti Sadan, 29, Chepstow Villas, London, W. 11.

The *Advaita-vedānta* as expounded by Śaṅkarācārya finds an elegant epitome in the *Vīravijaya* of Swami Mangalnathji, a modern saint who spent much of his time at Rishikesh preaching and practising *Yoga* and *Advaita*, and entered *Videha-mukti* as a *Paramahansa* in 1930. In 205 verses, composed in simple Sanskrit, the author delineates, in some detail, the true form, feelings and greatness of an ideal *advaitin*, the *Dhīra* or *Vīra*, as defined in the *Pañcadaśī* of Śaṅkarācārya (11. 123-24), which gives the work its title *Vīravijaya*. The dawn of the knowledge of the Inner Self through a correct evaluation of the transcendent material world, leading to the detached life of a *Jīvanmukta* (liberated soul) and the different stages through which this transformation takes place are duly portrayed.

The Sanskrit text is edited, in the book reviewed, in the Roman script, with a lucid translation, the object being to introduce the work to the West for its being "studied in one's hours of quietude and meditated upon over and over again" (Intro., p.v). "The result," the translator assures the reader, "will be the experience of great spiritual sweetness and peace which passeth understanding." (Ibid.) One might add that besides the said objective, the translation and the notes added thereto are such as to induce the reader to go in for the original texts, like the *Brahmasūtras* and the *Upaniṣads* with Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* there on, of which the *Vīravijaya* is the quintessence.



Dedicated by Hari Chand Shastri at the feet of his *Guru*, Saint Dadaji Maharaj of Aligarh, is the bouquet of *Indian mystic verse*, a choice anthology of sayings of great mystic significance, culled from poets and saints of the last few centuries. Some of the pieces are exquisite. Thus, Khusrau, exponent of Sufism, exhorts :

“Strive to be like the pupil of thine eye,  
To see all else—thyself, never to see.” (p. 60)

Here is a piece composed by the translator himself, which reminds one of the well known *Bhārata-sāvitrī* :

“The grass complains :  
Tread softly, softly, O Friend,  
Do not think me too insignificant,  
I have self-affirmation,  
But, thou hast no ear to listen to it.” (p. 6)

Informative annotations prefixed to the selections, describing the original authors of the passages, and the Glossory of technical terms and Indian words appended to the volume would be helpful, especially to the Western reader. The Saints of the East have, in their own way, shed light on many a truth of the highest import, and the present translator has, through the book under review, made some of the choicest of these available to those who have not access to these treasures for the lack of the linguistic master-key.

K. V. SARMA

*NEMIRANĠARATNĀKARA CHANDA* of Kavi Lāvānyasamaya  
Ed. by Shivalal Jesalpura. L. D. Bharatiya Sanskriti Vidya-  
mandira, Ahmedabad, 1965. Pp. 4, 2, 2, 108. Rs. 6/-.  
(*Lalbbhai Dalpatbhai Series*, No. 8).

Lāvānyasamaya was a prominent Gujarāṭī poet of the 16th century A.D. to whom we owe a variety of literary compositions, numbering about twenty. The *Nemiraṅgaratnākara Chanda* was composed by him in Sāmvat 1546, i.e., A.D. 1489, when he was just twentyfive. It deals with the life of Neminātha and employs a large number of metres to describe the catching contexts. Some of the situations are informative and poetically effective. What is more important is the language of this poem, which, when viewed in the background of Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa, yields rich material of linguistic interest. This aspect of the work has been studied in detail by the Editor who has also given a neat grammatical analysis of the language. His Glossary is carefully prepared and includes some comparative notes. Students of Old



Gujarāti would be thankful to the Editor for the scholarly edition and critical assessment of this work.

A. N. UPADHYE

YOGAŚATAKA of Haribhadra with auto-commentary, along with his *Brahmasiddhāntasamuccaya*, Ed. by Munirāja Śrī Punyavijayaji. Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Bharatiya Sanskrit Vidya-mandira, Ahmedabad, 1965. Pp. 6, 6, 32, 106. Rs. 5/-. (*Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series No. 4*).

In Haribhadra (A.D. 700-800) we have a prolific Jain philosopher who has made substantial contributions to the exposition of Yoga in Jainism, absorbing kindred ideas from Brāhmaṇic and Buddhistic patterns. Muni Punyavijayaji has given us in the book reviewed here an accurate edition of Haribhadra's *Yogaśataka* in Prākṛt, along with the author's own commentary in Sanskrit. Perhaps more valuable and interesting is the text of the *Brahmasiddhāntasamuccaya*, in Sanskrit on Yoga, probably by Haribhadra himself, edited from a rare and mutilated Ms.

There is an informative Introduction (in English) which sheds light on the Yogic terminology, gives a detailed review of Haribhadra's treatises on Yoga, namely, *Yogabindu*, *Yogaḍṛṣṭisamuccaya*, *Yogaśataka* and *Yogaṇṣīkā*, and evaluates his contributions.

There is an English translation of the text by Dr. K. K. Dixit included in this volume, but which has to be read with the text for its proper understanding. For, in many places, a correct rendering of the Sanskrit text is not given. For example *Yoga-leśa* has been rendered as 'essentials of Yoga', while Haribhadra himself explains the word, in his commentary, as 'a portion or fringe of Yoga'.

A. N. UPADHYE

KĀVYAKALAYE PAṬṬI (The Poetics of Aristotle, Translated into Malayalam), By Veda Bandhu. Arya Prakasanam, Kottarakkara (Kerala), 1967. Pp. xviii, 184. Rs. 5/-.

The necessity for and value of comparative studies in world literature, in the different disciplines, especially at their sources, cannot be over-emphasized. Besides making possible a judicious appraisal of the different systems of thought and follow-up of the evolution of those



disciplines, such studies enable one to view things on a broader perspective. And, what is more, they stimulate thought which is essential for the advancement of knowledge. It is on this background that the present rendering of Aristotle's *Poetics* by Shri Veda Bandhu into an Indian language is specially significant. We have here an authentic translation into Malayalam of this Greek classic which is considered to be a primary source of the flowering of literary and dramatic criticism in the West. The translation has been done with extreme care, on the basis of all material available on the subject.

The present publication is noteworthy on two more counts, first, for the detailed Notes that the translator has given on the allusions, anecdotes and other references which abound in the original, and, secondly, for his extensive study appended to the volume (pp. 95-182) taking under its purview Greek literature, Life and works of Aristotle and the *Poetics*. Special mention has to be made also of the correlations effected in the said Notes and Study, between the views of Greek rhetoricians and Indian Ālaṅkārikas on poetic concepts like mental attunement between the poet and the spectator (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*) (pp. 73-74, 149-51), secondary sense (*lakṣaṇā*) (pp. 156-57), poetic inspiration (*pratibhā*) (p. 112), poetic propriety (*aucitya*) (p. 82) and the like. It has to be observed here, *inter alia*, that for a full-fledged comparative study, it is essential to have a regular rendering of the work into Sanskrit with parallels and differences culled from Sanskrit rhetorical literature. In fact, this is a desideratum, in view of the fact that Western literary criticism is largely based on Aristotle and the Indian, on Sanskrit classics on the subject.

A History of Greek Literature being already available in Malayalam (by Krishna Chaitanya) and, now, that Shri Veda Bandhu has rendered Aristotle's *Poetics* into that language, an authentic rendering of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* would provide the Malayalam reading public with the minimum requisite for making a critical study of Greek literature and literary criticism. It would be in the fitness of things that Shri Veda Bandhu, equipped as he is with the wide reading and deep study of Greek literature and Aristotle's writings, should himself take up this task, as a labour of love, and, thus, fill up the lacuna.

In the present trend of educational thinking which prefers the inculcation of knowledge through the medium of the mother tongue, renderings like those of Shri Veda Bandhu would be of extreme utility.



*LITERARY EVALUATION OF PAÜMACARIYAM*, by K. R. Chandra. Jain Cultural Research Society, Varanasi-5, 1966. Pp. 46. Rs. 1-50. Sanmati Publications No. 17.

The *Paümacariyam* in Prākṛt by Vimalasūri is one of the earliest Jaina epics dealing with the Rāma legend (Ed. Jacobi, Bhavanagar, 1914; Prakrit Text Society, 1962 ff.). In the present study, Dr. Chandra has attempted a literary evaluation of the work. With a few observations on its epical format and the plot, the character of Rāma, Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa, Hanūmat, Rāvaṇa, Kaikayī and Sitā are delineated. A few select descriptive portions are estimated subjectwise and some striking contexts of emotions and sentiments are discussed with necessary illustrations. Important figures of speech which are commonly used in this work are listed, and, then, are recounted some characteristic maxims etc. scattered over this huge text. In fine, the study presents a neat estimate of some of the important literary characteristics of *Paümacariyam* and, as such, should incite curiosity in the reader for a detailed study of the original Prākṛt epic.

A. N. UPADHYE

*PRABANDHARATNĀKARA*. By Rameśachandra Śukla. Chowkhamba Vidyabhavan, Varanasi-1, 1967. Pp. 16, 689. Rs. 16/50.

If there was the need for a demonstration of the intrinsic capacity of the so-called 'dead' Sanskrit language to expound, with facility, even modern topics like Marxist philosophy, Socialist tendencies, Democracy, Panchasheel and Non-alignment, the *Prabandharatnākara* of Dr. Ramesachandra Sukla can provide a convincing answer. This sumptuous volume is a collection of sixty-eight essays in Sanskrit on a variety of subjects ranging from the Vedic speculations to Communist philosophy. The essays are, in their approach, more expository than critical, earlier writings having been drawn upon freely. But this by no means detracts from the usefulness of the work to whom it is intended; rather, it only engenders it. The author wields a facile pen, which he uses with advantage, especially in the exposition of modern topics, reinforcing them with parallel ideas in early Sanskrit literature. Of the orthodox topics, the book deals with the several aspects of Sanskrit language and Vedic literature, the different systems of philosophy and the more important authors and works in Classical Sanskrit,



The unorthodox papers, which deserve special mention are : An account of Western philosophical thought (pp. 160-70), a critical appreciation of the mellifluous poetry of Pandita Kshama Rao (pp. 351-60), methods for the resuscitation of Sanskrit learning (pp. 530-38), the uplift of today's youth (pp. 567-76) and six essays at the end, devoted to modern political philosophies including Communism, Facism, Democracy and Non-alignment (pp. 632-86).

One great drawback of the book, however, is that it does not help the reader to go beyond what is presented in it. May be, the book has been primarily intended for the general student and cultured reader of Sanskrit, but it could easily have served the purpose also of its more inquisitive and serious users by the addition of 'full' references to the numerous quotations, the supply of a select bibliography for further reading and the provision of good indexes. Passages from English books are often merely transliterated and not translated (p. 431). The three-page Errata can be added to. The frequent use of, often, unfamiliar Sanskrit equivalents of modern technical terms and free transliterations of Western names and places hampers the easy reading of the book. Confusion on account of unfamiliarity of the Sanskrit terms could easily be remedied by the supply of the English words as well, within brackets, in the text itself or in an Index.

Recently, there have appeared about a dozen collections of essays in Sanskrit, some treating only traditional subjects and the others taking in also modern subjects. To be sure, the *Prabandharatnākara* has a prominent place among them.

K. V. SARMA

*SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF HINDUISM*, By R. N. Dandekar. Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona, Poona, 1967. Pp. 142. Price not mentioned.

Five lectures delivered under the auspices of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, comprise this monograph on the development of the Hindu religion from the pre-Vedic times to modern days. Herein, Dr. Dandekar surveys the Proto-historic Hinduism, the Vedic influence thereon in its different aspects like mythology, magic, ritualism and spiritualism, Classical Hinduism and Hinduism in its modern phase.

Dr. Dandekar's assessment is unorthodox, especially in the earlier part of the book and, often, cuts across accepted notions, but it is



characterised an able exposition of his case supported by weighty arguments. He views the Hindu religion as having been well evolved long before the advent of the Aryans in India. Vedism was but an interlude in the chequered history of that religion. Proto-Hinduism, as represented by the Indus religion, was really an organic part of Hinduism. Though it was certainly affected by Vedism and adopted from it its spiritual content, the material aspects of the older heritage endured down the ages. As evidence, the author brings in the three-faced horned deity of Mohenjodaro (as identified with the pre-Vedic Śiva), the notion of the Mother-goddess and the peculiar cults of the Indus Valley pertaining to trees, animals and water, all of which, he shows, distinguish Proto-Hinduism from Vedic religion. This Proto-Hinduism, it is stated, served as the spring not only of Classical Hinduism but also of other religious ramifications like Jainism and Buddhism.

Under the caption, 'Vedic Interlude', the author depicts the part played by Vedic religion and the considerable influence it exerted on shaping Hinduism, not as its fountain-head, but as its sustainer in its encounter with the so-called heretic religious movements. The classical period of Hinduism, which, in fact, is the most definite and best documented era in its history, is dealt with, rather concisely, under principal periods, viz., the beginnings (c. 600 to 200 B.C.), the definition, consolidation and classification (200 B.C. to A.D. 700), the proliferation (A.D. 700 to 1700), the stagnation (A.D. 1700 to 1850) and the impact of modernity (after 1850).

The most important section of the book, according to the reviewer, is the author's treatment of Hinduism in relation to modern life. Apart from its being of topical interest, it also formed the 'Indian view' presented by the author at a Symposium on *Traditional Religions under Modern Cultures* at the Eleventh International Congress of the History of Religions at Claremont (U.S.) in 1965. Herein is depicted the reaction of the present-day intelligentsia to modern life in its variegated aspects. It is not difficult to agree with the author when he demonstrates how, in the different fields, Hinduism had and continues to have the inherent capacity to adjust itself to modern culture, easily and without violating its essential character in any way.

The book is eminently thought-provoking and blazes a new trail in the interpretation of Hinduism, both ancient and modern.



*THE HŪṆAS IN INDIA*, By Upendra Thakur. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi-1. 1967. Pp. xvi, 344. Rs. 25/-.

The monograph under review deals with the advent of the Hūṇas into India when, towards the middle of the 5th century, they moved forward from the Oxus region and wiped out the Kuṣāṇa power in the north-west of India, overwhelming the kingdom of Gandhāra. The rise of the Ye-tha or the white Huns and their devastating activities in Asia and Europe has been well studied by Drouin, Enoki, Hutton, Stein, Sykes and others, but, so far, no systematic attempt has been made to write an accurate account of the Ephthalite settlement in India.

We still do not possess any positive information about their earlier campaigns when they invaded the Gupta Empire during Skandagupta's reign (455-58 A.D.), but for the meagre details provided by the Bhitari stone pillar inscription and the Junagadh rock inscription of that monarch. Epigraphic and literary evidence still does not establish Toramāṇa's ancestry as to whether he was a Kuṣāṇa or a Hūṇa ; The chronology of his conquests of Śākala, Eraṇ and Mālava is still a matter of conjecture. However, the Gwalior inscription [Fleet, *Indian Antiquary*, 15 (1886) 253, Stein, *ib.*, 34 (1905) 82] identifies his son Mihirakula (c. 515-550 A.D.) as the ruler of Śākala and the Hūṇa kingdom in his time extended from Balkh to Kauśāmbī. His reign, wars, conquests and tragic death are graphically described by the author. This account is followed by an account of the sudden collapse of the Hūṇa empire in India (pp. 132-85).

And, it is not certain, yet, as to who defeated Mihirakula, whether it was Bālāditya or Yaśodharman. How did the flimsy Hūṇa empire in India vanish suddenly into thin air after Mihirakula? Controversy rages between the epigraphists and the historians over this phenomenon, and, also, about the utterly chaotic account about the later Hūṇas, in particular, over their relations with the Mukharis, the Vardhanas, the Palas, the Paramāras and the Cālukyās.

The work deals also with the social and political effects of the Hūṇa invasion in India. The manners, customs and beliefs of the Hūṇas are also described in some detail. But, whether the Ephthalites or the White Huns may or may not be identified with the early Hūṇas who dominated the political scene of northern India after the collapse of the Guptas, they cannot be described as of Kṣatriya origin as



purported by Hall [JAOS 6 (1860) 528] or D. R. Bhandarkar [IA 40 (1911) 21 ff.]. The concept is both erroneous and outmoded, as are the ethnological fallacies associated with the theories of the descent of the Rajputs from these vulgar, uncouth and barbarous hordes.

All available bits of information about the Hūṇas have been collected by the author, but finality yet remains to be established in almost all the questions raised by him.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

*THE SANSIS OF PUNJAB*, By Sher Singh 'Sher'. Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1965. Pp. xix, 367. Rs. 25/-.

In the book under review the author has studied the history, demography, dialect, customs, manners, ceremonies, economic pursuits and social organization of the Sansis of the Panjab, a vagrant, backward tribe living on petty pilfering, bricklaying and odd jobs, rearing goats and pigs and realising the customary dues called *laag* from the villagers. He thinks that these tribes, classed as criminal during British rule, represent the Rajputs, descended from Raja Sansmal, who were expelled from their original home in Rajasthan by the Muslim invaders, in the fourteenth century. On the other hand, the Sansis claim that their forefathers came from Garh Gazni in Afghanistan. In fact, in the Panjab there has been such a strong admixture of tribes and peoples, natives and immigrants, Jats and Rajputs and other castes, that it is difficult to separate the various strands.

The author has argued that the Sansis played an important part in the Panjab and produced such an eminent ruler as Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Here, he relies mostly on tradition and does not cite any original source, but the fact that among the *Misls* a large number of tribes and castes had amalgamated, particularly under the impact of Sikhism, cannot be gainsaid.

In Chapter Four, the author has also discussed the vexed question of the Gypsies and held that they represent Indian emigrants who went west from time to time. He cites the *Shāhnāmā* of Firdausi to show that the Persian King Bahram imported ten thousand persons, of both sexes, who were known as *Zott* or *Jats*, from India about 420 A. D. Subsequently, these people spread from Persia to Europe and came to be known as the Gypsies. It is difficult to say how far the legendary history recounted by Firdausi is true, but it is patent that the Gypsies have some Indian elements among them. Recently, an authority on



this subject, Jan Kochanowski, has held that the Gypsies, called *Romano Chave* (the sons of Rāma), were the remnants of those Rajputs of the entourage of Prithvirāja Chauhan who fled the country after his defeat at the hands of Shihābuddin Ghūri in 1192. He has shown that in the Middle Ages Queen Isabella of Castile persecuted the Jews, and, to curry favour with her, these wandering people gave themselves out as the descendants of the Egyptians, who had enslaved the Israelites in ancient times, and thus adopted the name Gypsy derived from Egyptian. They are also known as 'athinganos', and 'athictos', meaning 'untouched', because they do not greet each other by shaking hands, but salute with folded hands, as in India. Their language contains many words of Hindi and Rajasthani and their dance and music recall *kathak* and the system of *mudrās*. Among them marriage is contracted with the consent of the bride in a ceremony somewhat resembling the *svayamvara*, for which reason they underwent persecution. But it is difficult to say what relation the Gypsies bear to the Sansis of the Punjab.

The author has assembled copious data and materials regarding the dialect, customs and socio-economic life of the Sansis and the prospects of their uplift and improvement. He has shown that the application of the Criminal Tribes Act was mainly instrumental to their degradation in modern times, with the result that they are regarded as offensive and abnoxious and hated and feared as kidnappers and roasters of children and stealers of cattle and grain, particularly in U. P. The rigorous and suppressive policy of the administration drove one of their leaders, Sultana, to banditry and terrorism. But, now, these people are passing through the process of modernisation and receiving education and adopting new and respectable economic avocations. Their industry, endurance and hardihood enable them to become productive units, provided they are carefully utilised and employed.

The author has outlined towards the end of the book, a fifteen point programme for the amelioration and betterment of the Sansis and their transformation into productive and peaceful citizens of India. He has also rendered a signal service by recording the customs, beliefs and way of life of these people before they are obliterated for good by the sweeping current of modernisation.

It goes without saying that the present work will be useful to ethnologists, anthropologists and sociologists as well as those who are interested in the uplift of backward people of India.



*STUDIES IN INDOLOGY*, Vol. IV, By V. V. Mirashi. Tara Publications, Varanasi, 1966. Pp. viii, 239, XIII Plates. Rs. 22/-.

This is the fourth volume of the collected research papers written by the eminent Indologist, Dr. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi. It includes his papers on Sanskrit literature, Ancient Indian History, Epigraphy and Numismatics. While every paper is indispensable as a work of reference for those who are engaged in research in the different branches of Indology, particular mention may be made of some of the outstanding contributions contained in the present volume.

Some recent views on the date of Kālidāsa have been examined in detail and refuted by forceful arguments based on solid evidence. The article sets the standard for the right type of research which steers clear of prejudices of all types and has the search for truth as its only objective. Not only has the author refuted the fallacies but has put forth new evidence to show that Kālidāsa cannot be placed in the first century B. C. There are three articles on the vexed question of the location of Rāmagiri mentioned by Kālidāsa in his *Meghadūta*. We are of the definite view that Prof. Mirashi has succeeded remarkably in proving his thesis.

Some very interesting material has been brought out for the use of the students of Ancient Indian History in the articles on the Ahraura Rock Inscription, the inscription of a new Mahākṣatrapa Rupiamma and the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Avidheya. In the last of these, Prof. Mirashi has remarked that Vikramāditya whose envoy, Kālidāsa, went to the court of Kuntaleśvara is none other than the famous Gupta King Candragupta II and that the ruler of Kuntala is the contemporary Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Devarāja. We would, however, like to point out that in the Talgund inscription of Kākutsthavarman, the Kadamba monarch is described in the oft quoted line *Guptādi-pārthivāmburuha-sthalāni*, as giving away his daughters in marriage to a number of kings, the foremost amongst whom were the Imperial Guptas (*Epigraphia Indica*, VIII. 24). A Kuntala princess, Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, daughter of Kākutsthavarman, was also married to the Vākāṭaka monarch, Narendrasena. She is specifically described as the daughter of the Kuntaleśvara. It becomes uncertain, therefore, whether, in the days of Candragupta II and Kumāragupta I, Kuntala was ruled by the Kadambas or by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.



The article on the Eran inscription contains a very remarkable suggestion which brings out for the first time the true import of the much misunderstood verse 5. Fleet and Jayaswal thought that it referred to Samudragupta's wife, but Prof. Mirashi has rightly pointed out that it refers to Lakṣmī or the goddess of royal fortune. Prof. Mirashi has very beautifully explained the verse as describing the goddess of fortune, who "notwithstanding her natural fickleness, lived happily with Samudragupta and would pass over to his descendants for several generations". Prof. Mirashi has further made it crystal clear by quoting the expression *putrasaṁkrāntalakṣmīkaiḥ* from the *Uttara-rāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti, that the adjective *saṁkrāmiṇī* used for the lady of royal fortune is derived from the root *saṁ√kram* in the sense of transference of power. In spite of this lucid and cogent explanation, Prof. Sadhu Ram has tried in vain to prove that Prof. Mirashi's explanation is untenable. We would like to point out that the word *saṁkrāmiṇī* does not stand by itself alone. It is part of the compound *bahuputra-pautra-saṁkrāmiṇī*, i.e., passing on to sons and grandsons. It would be absurd to make such a statement with respect to a royal consort, whereas it is perfectly appropriate for the kingdom or the royal fortune. The credit for solving this knotty problem must go to Prof. Mirashi.

Another noteworthy contribution is the very comprehensive article on the vexed question of the Gaṅga Era which has engaged the attention of Indologists for the last seventyfive years and more. Prof. Mirashi has discussed the origin, locality, scheme and the epoch of the era. After a detailed examination of the data consisting of synchronisms and astronomical details contained in the records making use of the era, Prof. Mirashi has concluded that the era commenced in Śaka 420 expired or 498 A. D.

We feel confident that the volume under review will prove to be of great use to the students of Sanskrit Literature, Indian Epigraphy and Numismatics. The printing and get-up are quite good. The author and the publishers both deserve the thanks of all those who are engaged in the study of India's past.

J. N. AGRAWAL

ASPECTS OF INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION, By  
Buddha Prakash. Siva Lal Agrawal and Co., Agra-3, 1965.  
Pp. xvi, 389. Rs. 25/-.

As a collection of studies on the various aspects of Indian history and civilization, ranging from the social and economic trends during



the Gupta period, the dark era of the history of northern India after Harṣa, the relations of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the Kalacūris and the Pratihāras, and those of the Coḷas with the Śrīvijayas to a fresh appraisal of the Muslim conquest of India and the Indian social conditions on its eve, Dr. Buddha Prakash's work reviewed here is a fresh and direct approach to history, sifting historical data from legend and fiction.

The author has shown that the Gupta Empire represented "a synthesis of centralised bureaucracy and local autonomy" (pp. 32-49) and that its fall led to the advent of the feudal age in Indian history till the Muslim conquerors overtook this sub-continent (pp. 51-54, 64 ff.). But its comparison with the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, irrespective of the similarities recounted (pp. 65-67), appears odious and rather far-fetched.

Fresh materials, both numismatic and epigraphic, have been utilised in reconstructing the life of Candragupta Vikramāditya. The discovery of the new coins of Rāmagupta at Eran and the Śaka inscriptions lend to the more positive information on the history of Śrīdhavarman; and the author has definitely identified Basana, the Kuṣāṇa ruler, with the Śaka adversary of Rāmagupta and Candragupta (pp. 76-78).

Another study deals with the history of Malva in the 16th century; and yet another with the Hūṇas in India after Harṣa and their struggle with various kingdoms. On mediaeval India, there are three studies, the first two dealing with the socio-political background of the Muslim conquest of India (pp. 196-217), and Indian society and culture on its eve (pp. 218-352). The important, though anonymous, Persian geographer's work entitled *Hudud-al-'Ālam*, which the author has described in some detail (pp. 149-69) throws fresh light on the history of various Indian kingdoms during the 10th century, including Bengal, Kashmir, Multan, the Panjab and the Deccan.

The work is well documented and deserves the attention of the scholars of Indian history and culture.

BIKRAMA JIT HASRAT

A SURVEY OF FOLKLORE STUDY IN BENGAL, By Sankar Sen Gupta, 1967. Pp. 149. Rs. 20/-.

500 QUESTIONS ON THE SUBJECT REQUIRING INVESTIGATION IN THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, By Rev. John Long, Ed. by Mahadeva Prasad Sinha, 1966. Pp. 72. Rs. 10/50.



*A GUIDE TO FIELD STUDY*, Ed. by Sankar Sen Gupta, 1965. Pp. xxiii, 119. Rs. 16/50.

*THE STORY OF CHANDIDAS*, By Priyaranjan Sen, 1963. Pp. 4, 48. Rs. 3/50.

*A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF A BENGAL FOLKTALE*, By Ralph Troger, 1966. Pp. 96. Rs. 14/50.

*FOLKLORE LIBRARY*, By Piyushkanti Mahapatra, 1966. Pp. 64. Rs. 6/50.

All pub. by Indian Folklore Society, 3 British Indian Street, Calcutta-1.

"Indian folklore," says M. Eder, Editor, *Asian Folklore Studies*, "is, in all probability, the most complicated in the world, such a long historical past, so many ethnic and linguistic groups." The *Survey of folklore study* envisaged by Sankar Sen Gupta, in his book reviewed here, comprises that of old Bengal, viz., the Bengal of the beginning of the 20th century, which included the entire West Bengal, East Pakistan and substantial portions of Orissa, Bihar and Assam, and was inhabited by numerous ethnic groups and tribes. Compared to the other parts of the Indian sub-continent, the folklore of Bengal has had the advantage of having been subjected to systematic collection and recording at the hands of both British and Indian scholars, for nearly a hundred and fifty years. The Calcutta University, too, has been cultivating this subject for more than sixty years, now. All this has resulted in the production of substantial written material on the subject either by way of mere recording or of comparative study of a limited nature. It is high time that this material is taken up for detailed analysis and comparative and critical study in the background of Indian and extra-Indian folklore. The significance of the *Survey* under reference lies in its being the essential preliminary work in this direction. It presents a classified account, with bibliographical notes, of the available printed literature on Bengali folklore, written in English, Bengali or other languages. The book contains also an Introduction giving statistical information and a chapter indicating the nature and classification of Indian folklore. Organisational efforts in the discipline from as early as 1833 have also been noted. The book should prove extremely helpful in the reappraisal of folkloristic studies in India.

The *500 Questions*, prepared in 1861 for the Bethune Society of Calcutta by the Rev. John Long, the father of Indian Sociology, have been justly famous since they supplied a basic framework for the



collection of data on a variety of topics relating to 'Indian' life, in its different aspects, including society, living conditions, beliefs, manners, customs, rituals and professions. The Indian Folklore Society has done extremely well in reprinting this long out of print work, in a handy bookform, with useful Notes and an informative Introduction.

Now, that this first step has been taken, it would be logical for the Folklore Society to follow this up by two things. Long's questionnaire, prepared more than a century ago, and, to some extent, with special reference to Bengal, requires to be supplemented heavily from the points of view of modern conditions, their all-India nature and exhaustiveness. Secondly, necessary steps have to be taken to reply a pertinent question asked a hundred years ago by the *Calcutta Review* [40 (1864) 261]: "By the by, when are the Bethune Society going to furnish us with the answers to Mr. Long's five hundred questions," which, the editor of the present publication says, "stands unanswered till today." (Foreword, p. 15). Naturally, the answers should include, also, the supplementary questions, envisaged above. It is to be hoped that Indian folklorists will rise to the occasion and produce, in answer, an authentic report, may be, in several volumes, which, in effect, would be a veritable encyclopaedia of Indian Sociology.

*The Guide to Field Study* is a collection of fourteen very instructive papers, which can provide directions for the compilation of the encyclopaedia suggested above. Contributed by different specialists, the disciplines covered by the volume are: Archaeology, Cultural and Social Anthropology, Social studies, Geography, Tribal studies and Folklore research. Delineating the nature, utility and potentialities of the different disciplines, these papers set out in detail the methods and techniques of the fieldwork with respect to the respective disciplines. Special mention has to be made of the paper on Archaeology by H. D. Sankalia and that on Folklore by Sankar Sen Gupta.

*The Story of Chandidas* as retold by Priyaranjan Sen from an old Bengali poem is a fine example of the narrative presentation of floating legends of saints and heroes, of which every part of the country could boast of its abundant contribution. The intensity of devotion and felicity of expression of Chandidas are well-known through his popular *padas*, but the legends surrounding his eventful life have an irresistible charm of their own. It would be a good idea to publish, also, the Sanskrit work on the saint, which had been the source of the Bengali version, which latter is available in print.



The *Comparative Study of a Bengal folktale* by Ralph Troger is, perhaps, a model which folklorists of India might emulate in presenting the results of their comparative studies on Indian folktales. The tale is about two sisters, Sukhu and Dukhu, and the rewarding by fairies of the good girl for her kind acts and the punishing of the bad girl for her viciousness. This motif, in its varied ramifications, has been studied elaborately in relation to parallels both from the West and the East. One would readily agree with Dr. Heinze Mode, who has given the present English version of Ralph Troger's German original, that "it may be high time now, if the actual original sources of folk culture are to be tapped, owing to the quick changes in modern times." (Foreword, p. 11). These words should act as a warning to Indian folklorists and make them bestir themselves in the matter.

The short monograph on *Folklore Library* by Piyushkanti Mahapatra sets out the importance of the Library-cum-Museum, being one of the three vital requirements for folklore studies, the other two being Field-work and the Research Institute. The monograph brings out the characteristics that distinguish a folklore library from its general counterpart and gives a brief plan for the formation of such a library under the headings, Materials, Organisation, Acquisition, Classification, Cataloguing, Administration, Service to readers and Preservation. An idea of the non-book materials, like museum objects, materials on folklife, auto-visual materials, maps and charts, manuscripts, field-notes and reports that should find a place in a folk library have also been briefly indicated. Several of the points raised in the book, relating, especially, to Materials, Classification and Cataloguing, remain to be elaborated and worked out in greater detail. Dr. Mahapatra deserves to be congratulated for the framework which he has drawn. It is to be hoped that he would continue the work and give us a full-fledged manual on the subject.

A few remarks on the books reviewed above may not be out of place, here. In general, the books have been neatly printed and got up, comparing favourably with international standards. Printer's errors are not frequent, though not entirely absent. Some steps to facilitate the reader, further, would be to print the footnotes at the bottom of the respective pages, instead of relegating them to the end of the volumes, to give topical folio headings in the place of the present general headings, and to make the Indexes more full and descriptive. The prices are high; perhaps, that is inevitable in view of the nature of the books.

It is necessary to record here the high appreciation due to the



Indian Folklore Society for the splendid work they have been doing in creating interest in scholars, during the past one decade, for an objective and scientific study of Indian folklore and allied subjects. They have also brought together a band of interested workers, not only in Bengal but also in the other parts of the country, and have provided, through their journals and other publications, an excellent forum for the dissemination of the work done by these scholars. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the tradition of folklore study commenced in Bengal by such stalwarts like L. B. Day and John Long is being continued in a stabilised and systematic manner by the Indian Folklore Society, the main credit for which should go to its Director, Sankar Sen Gupta. The time may not be distant when the Society comes to be developed as the Centre of Advanced Research in Sociology under one of the three universities in Calcutta.

K. V. SARMA

SAMĀJA-SAMSKĀRAKA RAGHUNANDANA (Raghunandana—A Social Reformer) (in Bengali), by Dr. Vani Chakravarti. 11 Kali Kumar Banerji Lane, Calcutta-2, 1964. Pp. 319. Rs. 7.50.

The mediaeval period of Indian history saw the production of nearly two hundred digests of social and religious law of the Hindus (*smṛti-nibandhas*), of which about fifty have come down to us, the rest being known through references to them in the extant ones. Of the extant works, some ten belong to Bengal, the latest and most prominent among them being that of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya of the 16th century. Though the encyclopaedic *Smṛtitattva* of Raghunandana is still being followed by a devout Bengali Hindu, it is a pity that no critical and systematic study of his various works, included in the *Smṛtitattva*, was made till the middle of the present century.

The earliest attempt to help scholars understand Raghunandana's contribution was made by the late Rai Bahadur Manmohan Chakravarti, who appended a long index of mediaeval works, Smṛtic and astrological, quoted by Raghunandana in his several works, to his paper, entitled 'Contributions to the history of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithila', *JASB*, 11 (1915). The second attempt in the above direction was made forty years later by the present reviewer, who made up the deficiencies of Chakravarti's index by his two appendices of quotations from both ancient and mediaeval Smṛti and Purāṇa works, attached to his monograph, containing his brief conclusions, viz., 'Raghunandana's indebtedness to his predecessors' (Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1955).



The work under review by Vani Chakravarti has admirably supplied the long-felt want of a synthetic account of Raghunandana's works, by making a critical and painstaking study of his *Smṛtitattva* and is, thus, the final successful attempt in this direction. The authoress has not only corroborated the present writer's view expounded in his above-mentioned monograph that Raghunandana was neither an innovator nor a misinterpreter of the injunctions of ancient sacred literature, as is wrongly supposed by modern Bengali scholars who do not care to read even a single line of that great *Nibandhakāra*, but has also conclusively proved by her profuse quotations from and penetrating insight into the works of Raghunandana that the latter was a real social reformer, who contributed, considerably, to preserve intact the contemporary Bengali Hindu Society from the iconoclastic onslaughts of the fanatical Moslem rulers.

The present work, scholarly as it is, is written in Bengali, and, so, like S. C. Banerji's '*Smṛtiśāstre Bāṅgālī*' (Bengal's contribution to *Smṛtinibandha* literature), (Calcutta 1961-62) is only accessible to scholars who can read Bengali. Had these works been written in English, they would have been accessible to a larger reading public and thus served their purpose better.

BHABATOSH BHATTACHARYA

*INTRODUCTION TO MODERN HINDU LAW*, By J. Duncan M. Derrett. Oxford University Press, 1963. Pp. xclv, 653. Rs. 30/-.

The book under review deals, in ten chapters, with the history, sources and application of Hindu Law; legitimacy and rights and duties arising from birth; minority and guardianship; adoption; marriage and divorce; the joint family and partition; intestate succession; testamentary succession; religious endowments; and miscellaneous topics. It also contains a chapter on 'Hindu law in East Africa' which is an innovation not found in other books on modern Hindu Law. It contains also an index of cases, index of statutes, a select glossary and in appendices current Indian Statutes, an Extract from Mysore Act 10 of 1953, selected Indian Statutes as amended prior to the 'Hindu Law', the Kenya Statutes and a very illuminating Preface. And, as such, the present book is, definitely, an improvement on earlier books on the subject like J. D. Mayne's *Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage* or D. F. Mulla's *Principles of Hindu Law*. The language is lucid, and even the most complicated legal problems are expressed with



complete clarity. The selection of cases and of topics is also expertly done.

The book was written to serve two classes of readers. The first comprises the students of Hindu Law for the examinations of the universities of India and Pakistan and the University of London and also the students taking the Hindu Law paper in the examinations for Call to the English Bar. The second group comprises those who need a concise introduction to the subject of modern Hindu law for the management of their affairs or in order to study comparatively modern systems of law. Within the scope of the author's viewpoint and intention, he has done an excellent job. The reviewer has no doubt that Derrett's work will take the place of the Mulla-s, Mayne-s, etc.

This reviewer must, however, emphasize that there are two schools of thought regarding the approach to the question of Modern Hindu Law, viz., the historic school and the dogmatic school. The first deals with the evolution of legal precepts and their interpretation, while the latter deals only with the interpretation of the existing rules and their application in practice. To the first school belongs P. V. Kane and his *History of Dharmaśāstra*; to the second belongs J. D. Mayne and many others, as well as Derrett. This reviewer belongs to the first school of thought and considers that in order to understand the modern legal rules well, particularly in India where the modern rules are almost exclusively based on the *Dharmaśāstra-s* and the *Smṛti-s*, the reader must know the development of each legal rule from its inception up to its application in Modern Hindu law; however, this point of view is not shared by all students of the *Dharmaśāstra-s* and, evidently, not by the author of the book under review. This reviewer accepts this and, although, he would have preferred a historical approach, he considers Derrett's book as an excellent introduction to Modern Hindu law and its usage not only in India and Pakistan but also in those countries where it is applicable. The author must be wholeheartedly congratulated for his excellent manual which will undoubtedly become one of the most popular manuals on Modern Hindu law.

LUDWIK STERNBACH

*THE ŚAKTI CULT AND TARĀ*, Ed. by D. C. Sircar. University of Calcutta, 1967. Pp. viii, 191, Pl.IX. Rs. 10/-.

The book reviewed here contains the Proceedings of and the Papers read at two Seminars organised in April 1965 by the U.G.C. Centre

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection.



of Advanced Study in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the University of Calcutta. About thirty scholars participated in these two Seminars devoted to : (1) Origin and evolution of the cult of Śakti, and (2) Iconography of Tārā, when nineteen papers were read, which are printed here, as revised by the respective authors. The several papers, together, present, more or less, a broad idea of the nature and evolution of the Śakti cult as prevailing in the different parts of India. Information is provided also on some of the little-known forms of Tārā. A good amount of reiteration of the same matter has occurred in the book, which, perhaps, could not be helped. It has also to be observed that the discussions have been based more on archaeological remains, epigraphical records and sculptures, the extensive literary material having not been fully drawn upon.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

*AN INTRODUCTION TO DEVA-DHARMA*, By S. P. Kanal.  
Dev Samaj, Moga, 1965. Pp. v, 122. Rs. 3/-.

*NATURALISM IN MODERN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY*, By S. P. Kanal. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi. Pp. 32. Rs. 2/-.

The two books reviewed here are interesting treatises, making out a strong case for a science-oriented religion as the means of understanding the truths of philosophy and religion. The founder of this thought is Saint Satya Anand Agnihotri, also known as Bhagavan Deva Atma, (born in 1850), who advocated a religion in harmony with facts and the laws of nature and based on the evolution and dissolution of life-power or soul. This religion took into its purview also moral, social, educational, industrial and other aspects of modern life.

Prof. S. P. Kanal depicts forcefully the unique mission of Deva Atma which entailed the surrender by the latter of his physical and mental powers and the necessity to face trials and tribulations, calumnies and ridicule and shafts of irony and contempt. Deva Atma flatly rejected *a priori* reasoning and traditional methods of philosophy. He emphasized science and its method. He explains : "The canons of scientific method of investigation, which were essential in all the scientific study and research, acquired complete domination on my heart. The principles of experimental investigation, together with universal principles of logic, had possessed my heart so completely that it became impossible for me to accept anything solely on the basis of intuition or speculation." As a result, he evolved a unique religion



called *Devadharma* and founded a unique society called *Devasamaj*, which has a large following.

In spite of the objections which an orthodox thinker might raise, like, for instance, the rejection of tradition, life after death and transience of physical phenomena, the books are eminently readable and may be recommended as an effective guide to solve several problems which face the present-day civilization. The credit of expounding in a lucid manner the philosophy of Deva Atma goes to Dr. Kanak.

K. S. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

*H. D. VELANKAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME*, Ed. by S. N. Gajendragadkar and S. A. Upadhyaya. 34, Benam Hall Lane, Bombay-4, 1965. Pp. viii, 274. Rs. 20/-.

Among the Sanskritists of modern India, Prof. H. D. Velankar, who passed away recently, was unique in two respects: to wit, the length of his academic service as Professor of Sanskrit, being 54 years (1914-1968) and the large number of active researchers in Indology that he had turned out through the three institutions where he worked, viz., the Wilson College, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan and the University of Bombay. The volume under review is a collection of research papers presented to him on his 72nd birthday, in 1965.

Prof. Velankar was a versatile scholar and his specialisations included the Veda, which was his forte, Classical Sanskrit, Linguistics, Metrics, Manuscriptology and Textual criticism. The several papers contained in the present volume truly reflect this variety, though papers on Veda and Classical Sanskrit predominate.

Some of the papers deserve special mention. In a paper entitled 'Teachers in the R̥gveda Brāhmaṇas' (pp. 133-53), N. J. Shende presents the views of over sixty Vedic Ācāryas, on divers subjects, as recorded in the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas*. Similar analyses of groups of allied texts could form the basis of definitive studies on individual or families of Vedic Ṛṣis. G. V. Devasthali stresses the utility of the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* to Vedic exegesis (pp. 20-26) and also cautions against the indiscreet application of the rules therefrom. The voluminous commentarial foot-notes to the *Vedic Word-Concordance* (VVRI, 1935-65) but exemplify the same point. On Hindu mythology, the development of the concept of Varuṇa from the Vedic times to that of the Epics has been traced by S. N. Gajendragadkar (pp. 27-40). G. H. Godbole correlates the *Brahman* of the Upaniṣads and the *Brahmā* of the Purāṇas to Vedic Prajāpati (pp. 45-56). Parallels in



the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* for numerous passages in the *Manusmṛiti* and its commentaries as identified by P. S. Sane (pp. 112-32), give indication to the ample use made of the ritualistic sūtras in laying down rules of social conduct and interpreting them.

A special interest attaches to the present volume, viz., that all the papers included herein have been contributed by Prof. Velankar's students. It would only be in the fitness of things if Indological scholars outside this close circle also pay homage to the departed savant through another volume of Indological studies.

K. V. SARMA

*KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY RESEARCH JOURNAL* (Arts and Humanities), Ed. Buddha Prakash. Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra. I. i (1967), Pp. 236. Rs. 10/-.

*BULLETIN OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY & ARCHAEOLOGY*, Ed. K. D. Bajpai, University of Saugar, Saugar (M. P.). I (1967), Pp. ii, 127, Pl. 14. Rs. 10/-.

*EAST*, Ed. B. N. Mukherjee. Pilgrim Publishers, 18-B/1 B, Tamer Lane, Calcutta-9. I. i (June 1967), Pp. 183. Rs. 6/-.

We heartily welcome the publication of three new research journals dealing with Indology, viz., The *Kurukshetra University Research Journal*, the *Bulletin of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology*, Saugar University and the *East*, Calcutta.

The *Kurukshetra University Journal*, being edited by Dr. Buddha Prakash, is intended as a forum for the publication of the results of the researches carried out by the University in the fields of Arts and Humanities. The first issue before us includes contributions from the members of the departments of Sanskrit, Ancient Indian History and Culture, English Literature, Hindi, Linguistics, History, Political Science and Philosophy and Psychology. All the contributors have taken pains to bring out either new facts or fresh interpretation of facts already known. The editor, Dr. Buddha Prakash, himself has discussed Pāṇini's rule IV. 3. 98, throwing welcome light on the early history of Vaiṣṇavism. We congratulate the University and the editor on this new venture.

The area served by the University of Saugar is extremely rich in ancient remains and, so, it is in the fitness of things that the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of that University



has started an annual *Bulletin* for the publication of the results of the researches carried on by the Department. Prof. K. D. Bajpai, under whose able guidance the Department has turned out considerable work and who edits the present Bulletin, has contributed as many as ten out of the twentyone articles included in the first volume of the Bulletin. We wish godspeed to this laudable undertaking.

The *East*, which takes into its purview all disciplines of Indology, has made a good start, by publishing in its first issue some valuable articles written by scholars, eminent in their respective fields. Prof. S. Roy's paper on Zia-ud-din Barani and the latter's account of Alauddin Khilji's reign is very informative. Prof. S. K. Saraswati, whose researches in the field of art are already well known, has contributed a paper on 'North Indian paintings in the 18th century'. The classical accounts bearing on ancient Indian history and geography form the subjects of two articles, one of which is from the pen of the editor. The Journal is very moderately priced. We hope that scholars interested in the advancement of knowledge will extend their fullest cooperation to the new enterprise of Dr. Bratindra Nath Mukherjee.

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL

*THE NATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN LITERATURE*  
(1901-1953), Vol. II, Ed. by B. S. Kesavan and Y. M. Mulay.  
Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1966. Pp. xv, 632. Rs. 50/-.

Of two important reference projects which the Sahitya Akademi, (India's National Academy of Letters), had planned soon after its establishment in 1954, the first, viz., *Who's Who of Indian Letters* was published in 1961 and the second, being the *National Bibliography of Indian Literature*, is under way. The latter project is intended to supply, in four volumes, full bibliographical details of all works of literary merit and publications of abiding value in the several humanistic disciplines, issued during the 20th century till when the Akademi was established, i.e., during the years from 1901 to 1953. Vol. I of the *Bibliography*, for Assamese, Bengali, English and Gujarati, was issued in 1962. The Second volume, under review, comprises the entries for Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri and Malayalam, the brunt of compiling the the basic material being borne, respectively, by H. P. Dwivedi, A. N. Moorthy Rao, G. H. Beg 'Arif' and Suranad Kunjan Pillai. For all the varied problems posed by these four languages, in the matter of script, spelling and pronunciation, the present volume displays a very orderly presentation, the credit for which should go to the editors.



Two things add to the information content of this *Bibliography*: (1) The years of birth and death of late authors have been given after their names. In the case of living authors, the years of their birth are given, but only occasionally. (It would have been better if this had been done uniformly.) (2) Where the titles are not self-explanatory, brief annotations have been added, indicating the nature of the contents of the book. The Index appended to the volume is full and exhaustive.

The inherent limitations of a multi-author compilation, like, for instance, non-uniformity in the supply of bibliographical details, omission and inclusion of certain types of books and the criteria adopted in making selections, are not absent from this *Bibliography*, too. Thus, the rendering of *R̥gveda* is recorded only for Kannada, while it is available also in Hindi and Malayalam. Rendering and adaptations of *Gītā*, *Rāmāyaṇa* etc. available in Kashmiri have not been recorded. Mere catalogues of manuscripts have been included in Hindi (p. 3). The *Bhaṣāśailīpradīpam* has been recorded twice (pp. 361, 376). Numbers of pages and years of publication have not been given in a number of instances. Cross references are far from adequate, both in the body of the *Bibliography* and in the Index.

Of the four languages included, a few words seem to be necessary with regard to Kashmiri. If the present *Bibliography* is any guide, much needs to be done for Kashmiri literature to make it reach the level of the other Indian languages. Its bibliography, as recorded in the present publication, runs just to eight odd pages, being less than 2 % of the volume, a 'thinness' which is reflected in other matters also. Thus, out of the total of 177 items which make up its bibliography, 95 are mere booklets, of about 16 pages each, priced 25 ps. or less. There is but a single publisher worth the name; his publications account for about 90% of the items included in the bibliography. All books on philosophy and religion and most of those on the other subjects are related to the Muslim religion, and 131 out of the 141 authors who find a place in the *Bibliography* are Muslims. There is not a single book on Social Sciences, General literature, Fiction, Essay, Letters or Miscellaneous literature. There is but a single dictionary for the language (by G. A. Grierson, 1916 ff.), just two books on linguistics, one being a First Reader and the other a handbook of Kashmiri (whether even these two books could, at all, be included in the bibliography according to the terms laid down, viz., "Only such works as contribute to a better understanding of the origin, history and nature of a language would be included.... Text-books on grammar



would not be included" (Intro., p. vii) is another matter), just two dramas and two works on humour. On History, Biography and Travel there are, all-told, six titles (of which four are adaptations or retelling of older material). Possibly, the bibliography is not fully representative of Kashmiri literature. But, if it is, the present conditions are, by no means, enviable.

A full bibliography of Indian literature since printing was introduced into India is a desideratum; but that is, possibly, a long way off. The present bibliography is a practical stop-gap, presenting, as it does, the best productions during the most fruitful period in the past, and, thus, will prove to be a useful book of reference both in India and abroad. We eagerly look forward to the publication of the two further volumes of the *Bibliography*, which, together with the two published volumes, will provide detailed information on the best books in all the national languages of India.

K. V. SARMA

INDEX OF PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, Volume III, Sessions XVIII-XXII (1955 to 1965) By K. V. Sarma. All-India Oriental Conference, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4, 1967. Pp. 22, 340. For members : Rs. 10/-. For others : Rs. 20/-.

The All-India Oriental Conference, it is well known, is the pre-eminent central organisation of Orientalists in India which has provided, for nearly fifty years, now, a common platform and clearing-house for earnest workers to present and discuss the results of their researches in different branches of Oriental learning. It has also been a source of inspiration to a number of Congresses and Conferences working in allied fields of Indic studies. The *Proceedings* of the different Sessions of the Conference, so far 23, and the *Summaries of Papers* and the Presidential Addresses and Papers published, all along, have such an enormous extent and variety that a suitable Index to them was an urgent desideratum. The authorities of the Conference have found a worthy and painstaking scholar in Shri K. V. Sarma (Trivandrum—Madras—Hoshiarpur) who has compiled systematically three volumes of *Index of Papers submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference*. Volume I of the Index, which appeared in 1949, covered the first quarter of a century of the existence of the Conference (1919 to 1944); Volume II came out in 1959, covering the years 1945 to 1954; and Volume III, being the book under review, covers the years 1955 to 1965.



In the *Résumé* to the First volume Shri Sarma rightly observed that the All-India Oriental Conference held out, in view of its services to the promotion of Indianistic Studies, a great promise regarding its high utility both as an advising and as an executive body, during the years to come, in the cultural and educational fields of Free India. The research material contained in the papers submitted to the subsequent Sessions indicate that this promise has been amply fulfilled by the sponsors and the participants of the Conference. Some side-glances of this the author gives in his Introduction to the volume under review.

Every volume presents the essential details about the Sessions covered by it, followed by a fully referenced and often annotated *Author Index* and a *Subject Index*, with cross references wherever needed. Informative Appendices are also added to the volumes.

The three Volumes, together, set out analytically, the history and progress of the work of the Conference during nearly half a century of its existence and, form, essentially, a systematic Bibliography of nearly 7000 Research Papers contributed to different branches of Orientalology.

Our thanks are due to Shri Sarma for his steady and thorough work and to the authorities of the Conference for the publication of these volumes which are a monumental book of reference to the prolonged cultural and research activities of the Conference in all aspects. An Indologist has to keep these volumes at his elbow as highly useful reference books.

A. N. UPADHYE



## INDOLOGICAL NEWS AND NOTES

### I N T E R N A L

#### **Membership**

During the period from March 1967 to April 1968, 32 new Life Members (Subs. Rs. 250/-) and 57 Annual Members (Subs. Rs. 12/- p. a.) were registered for the V. V. R. Institute Society.

#### **Annual Meeting of the General Body**

The 64th Annual Meeting of the Society was held on Sunday, the 30th July 1967, in the Institute premises, under the presidentship of Shri Sansar Chand Sud and was attended by 69 Members and 10 other friends. A Condolence Resolution relating to the Members who passed away during the previous year having been adopted, the Minutes of the previous meeting of the General Body held on 31-7-1966 were placed before the General Body, which approved them. The Audited Statement of Income and Expenditure for 1966-67, the Budget for 1967-68 and certain amendments to the Constitution of the Society were then placed before the General Body, and were duly passed. Four new Members, viz., Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, New Delhi, Shri Suraj Bhan, Chandigarh, Principal Ramdas and Shri Roshan Lal Kuthiala, Hoshiarpur, were then unanimously elected as Members of the Executive Board for the next triennium. Prin. Rala Ram, Prin. Ram Das and the Chairman then spoke of the manifold developments and commendable work of the Institute in the field of Vedic and Indological research and called upon the public to extend to the Institute its whole-hearted support.

#### **National Honour to the Director**

The Government of India honoured Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu, the Honorary Director of the Institute, by conferring upon him the National Honour of *Padma Bhushan* on the Republic Day of India on January 26, 1968. He was also awarded the MM Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for 1963 by the Asiatic Society, Bombay, in recognition of his outstanding contribution to Vedic studies and research.



### Academic Staff

Shri Damodar Shastri, M.A. (Pkt.), M.A. (Hindi), Acharya, joined the Translation Department of the Institute as Assistant Editor.

### Publications

(a) The publications mentioned below were issued during the period under report :

#### (i) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*

No. 29-a. *Canakya-Niti-Text-Tradition*, Vol. II, Pt. ii, Ed. by Ludwik Sternbach.

No. 39. *Praśasti-kāśikā of Bālakṛṣṇa Tripaṭhī*, Cr. Ed. with Introduction, By K. V. Sarma.

No. 40. *The Doctrine of Recognition (Pratyabhijñā-Darśana)*, By Dr. R. K. Kaw.

#### (ii) *Woolner Indological Series*

No. 13. *Vaitāna Śrautasūtram* with the commentary Ākṣepānuvidhi of Somāditya, Cr. Ed. by Vishva Bandhu.

#### (iii) *Sarvadanand Universal Series*

No. 51. *Sukhī parivār*, By Sant Ram.

No. 52. *Ārya-Darpan*, By Vishva Bandhu.

No. 53. *Sant Ravidas*, By Rattan Chandra.

#### (iv) *Vishveshvaranand Indological Paper Series*

Nos. 186 to 199. Being the papers included, originally, in Vol. V, Pt. i of the V. I. Journal, March 1967.

(v) *Viśva-Saṃskṛtam* (Sanskrit Quarterly), Vols. IV. iii-iv (May and August 1967) and V. i-ii (Nov. 1967 and Feb. 1968).

(vi) *Vishva Jyoti* (Hindi Monthly), Vol. XVI. i-xii (March 1967 to Feb. 1968) and the Special Volume entitled *Śikṣā Aṅk* (Education Number).

(b) The following publications were still being seen through the press :

1. *Vedic Word-Concordance*, Vol. II, *Brahmaṇas*, Revised edn., By Vishva Bandhu.

2. *Canakya-Niti-Text-Tradition*, Vol. II, Pt. iii, Ed. by L. Sternbach.



3. *The Decline of the Punjab Kingdom, 1839-1845*, By Dr. B. R. Chopra.
4. *The Origin and Development of the Hariyāṇvī dialect*, By Dr. Nanak Chand Sharma.
5. *The Outline of History*, By H. G. Wells, Hindi Translation.
6. *Mathematical Methods of Statistics*, By Herald G. Cramer, Hindi Translation by C. L. Parti.
7. *Statistical Methods*, By G. W. Snedecor, Hindi Translation by Sukh Dev Singh.
8. *Vedasāra* (General edition), By Vishva Bandhu.
9. *A Manual of Foreign Exchange*, By H. E. Ewitt, Hindi Translation by Veda Prakash.

(c) The undermentioned works were among those in different stages of editorial processing :

1. *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, By Siddheshwar Varma.
2. *Āśvalāyana-Śrautasūtra*, with the commentaries of Siddhāntin, Devatrāta, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Devasvāmin and Nārāyaṇa.
3. *Drahyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, with the commentary of Dhanvin.
4. *Upaniṣad-uddhāra-Koṣa*.
5. *Valmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, N.-W. Recension, Revised Second edition.
6. *Tumhāre liye hamāre gīt*, By Rashtra Bandhu.
7. *Surāṅga*, By Shripad Joshi.
8. *Saral kahāniyān*, By Sant Ram.

### Chandigarh Sub-Office

#### (a) *Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*

The pre-final draft of the *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India* received a thorough checking and necessary revision and the final typescript for the press was made ready. A detailed Introduction and several Indices were also prepared specially for the *Summary*.

#### (b) *Ancient Indian Phonetico-Grammatical Terminology*

The work of extracting and annotating basic material on the subject from the *R̥gveda-Pratiśākhya* was continued. 955 new terms were thus annotated upon, bringing the corpus of terms thus treated to 3094.



## Dictionary of N.-W. Himalayan Dialects

The work of consolidation and editing of the glossary of the Group A dialects, comprising of Bhadrawāhī, Khāsī, Khāśī, Khaśālī, Bhaleśī and Pādarī dialects was continued from letter 'k' and completed. Reverse Index cards were also prepared for the entire group. The consolidation and editing of Group B, viz., the Kashmiri dialects, was taken up from 'a' and completed. Of these, about 6500 items were checked and numbered. Reverse Index cards were also prepared for these. The preparation of the cards for Group C, viz., the Kangra dialects, was continued from letter 'i' and completed. The entire cards of the said Group were also consolidated and edited. Reverse Index cards were also prepared for these.

## New Library Building

The construction of the three-storeyed new building of the Vishveshvaranand Library was nearing completion. Moving in of furniture and some finishing touches were all that remained to be done.

## Bibliography of Indological Dissertations

Work on the *Annotated Bibliography of Indological Dissertations* was being steadily continued. The Catalogues of Doctoral Dissertations published by the Universities of Poona, Mysore, Panjab, Baroda and Rajasthan were scrutinized for Indological dissertations and the authors of the relevant dissertations were sent printed proformas for the supply of the full details of their theses. About 400 proformas duly filled in with details were received. The preliminary editing of the proformas was also commenced.

## Hindi Sahitya Sarinī

The final draft of this work, in 1754 pages, classified into 20 sections and containing, altogether, over 50,000 entries was submitted to the Central Hindi Directorate, New Delhi, and was being scrutinized by the said Directorate.

## Translation into Hindi

(a) *Internal Work*. The translation of *A Story of Indian Culture* by Prin. Bahadur Mal was made ready for printing. The revision of the translations of his *Shri Krishna: His Philosophy and his Spiritual Path*, *Dayanand: A Study and Mental Health in Theory and Practice* was completed. The translations of *Benjamin Franklin* by Carl van Doran and *Fairy Tales* by Hans Anderson were also completed.



(b) *External Work.* The printing of the Hindi translation of *Statistical Methods* by G. W. Snedecor was nearly completed and that of *Mathematical Methods of Statistics* by Herald Cramer continued. The printing of the translations of *The Outline of History* by H. G. Wells and *A Manual of Foreign Exchange* by H. E. Ewitt also registered some progress. Two books, viz., *Varieties of Religious Experience* by William James and *Principles of Human Knowledge* by George Berkeley were taken up for translation.

### College Department

All the 4 students who appeared in M.A. (Skt.) Pt. I Examination of April 1967 and 5 out of six in Pt. II, came out successful, three of the latter securing, also, the First three positions in the University. 7 out of the nine students who appeared in Acharya Pt. I were declared successful. The only student who appeared in Acharya Pt. II also passed.

### Distinctions Won

The Panjab University Silver Medal for the First Position in Sanskrit in M.A. Pt. II was awarded to Shri Kulapati Sharma. The University Silver Medal for the Best Translation from English into Hindi was secured by Shri Shuk Dev Sharma.

### Viśva-Saṃskṛtam

The research and literary Sanskrit Quarterly *Viśva-Saṃskṛtam* entered its fifth year of publication and issued four Numbers during the year. These Numbers, together, carried 21 poems, 41 articles, one drama and one short story, besides cultural and academic news and notes.

### Vishva Jyoti

*Vishva Jyoti*, the cultural Hindi Monthly of the Institute completed, in February 1968, 16 years of successful service in the propagation of Indian culture and the fostering of national integration. In March 1968 it issued a bumper Special Volume entitled *Śikṣa Aṅk* (Education Number) which carried 13 poems, 27 articles and two short stories, devoted, mainly, to the treatment of the various aspects of education in India.

### Sarasvatī Samāj (Literary Association)

During the monthly meetings of the Sarasvatī Samāj of the Institute, held on the last Friday of every month, the following scholars presented research papers on the subjects noted against their names :



- 31-3-1967 : Shri Ravi Kant : *Bhāratiya-bhāṣāyeṅ Angreji-bhāṣa ki tulana meṁ kam samṛddh nahim haim* (Hindi) (The Indian languages are no less rich compared to English).
- 28-4-1967 : Shri K. V. Sarma : *Pracina-Bharate cauryakalā* (Skt.) (The art of stealing in Ancient India).
- 26-5-1967 : Shri Munishvar Dev : *Yajñaphala* (Hindi) (Religious merit of Vedic sacrifices).
- 28-7-1967 : Shri Dayanand Arya : *Gosvāmī Tulasīdās ki bhakti* (Hindi) (The concept of devotion according to Gosvāmī Tulasīdās).
- 25-8-1967 : Dr. Satya Pal Gupta : *Kyā Nyāyabhāṣya aur Kāmaśāstra ke racayitā Kauṭilya hi haim ?* (Hindi) (Are the authors of Nyāyabhāṣya and Kāmaśāstra identical with Kauṭilya ?)
- 29-9-1967 : Shri K. V. Sarma : *Sūktikaraḥ Śūdrakaḥ* (Skt.) (Śūdraka, the anthologist).  
Shri Arjun Dev : *Sandhi-sahit Saṁskrit lekhan* (Hindi) (Writing Sanskrit without breaking euphonic combinations).
- 27-10-1967 : Shri Vrajanandan Mishra : *Vicārapravāhaḥ* (Hindi) (Currents in Indian philosophical thought).  
Shri Bhadra Sen : *Kāṭhapaniṣad ka ek adhyayan* (Hindi) (A study of *Kāṭhapaniṣad*).
- 24-11-1967 : Shri Pitambar Datt : *Vedapaṭhe svaravivekaḥ* (Skt.) (Accent in Vedic recitation).  
Shri Radhakrishnan : *Alaṅkāra-vimarśaḥ* (Skt.) (Some observations on Sanskrit poetics).
- 29-12-1967 : Prin. Rala Ram : *Pūrva aur Paścim meṁ Īśvara sambandhī bhāvanā* (Hindi) (Concept of God in Eastern and Western thought), Part I.
- 29-1-1968 : Do Do. Part II.
- 28-2-1968 : Shri Pashupati Jha : *Śraddhāvimarśaḥ* (Skt.) (Hindu obsequies).  
Shri Duni Chand : *Upaniṣadom ke anusār duḥkhopalabdhi* (Hindi) (Cause of misery according to the Upaniṣads).
- 29-3-1968 : Prof. Jagannath Agrawal : *Yaudheyagana* (Hindi) (A chronological study of the Yaudheya clan).

### Vishva-Satsang (Universal Cultural Congregation)

The Institute continued to hold, regularly, its weekly meetings (Vishva-Satsang) on Sunday evenings, which used to be attended by the



inmates of the Ashram as also by the cultured public of Hoshiarpur. The gist of the cultural talks delivered at these meetings were also being published, regularly, in the *Vishva Jyoti*. Some of these meetings were devoted to the celebration of the *Jayanti-s* (birthdays) of Mahāvira, Buddha, Hazrat Muhammad, Christ, Rāma, Krishna, Dayanand, Nanak, Guru Govind, Mahatma Gandhi, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and others and the festivals of Śivarātri, Janmāṣṭamī, Vijayadaśamī, Śrāvaṇī-parva and R̥ṣi-Bodhotsava.

### Other Functions

- 15-8-1967 : The Independence Day of India was celebrated with the hoisting of the Indian National Flag by the Director of the Institute, who spoke on the importance of the Day and stressed the need for the maintenance, by every Indian, of the hard-won freedom of the country.
- 26-1-1968 : Principal Bahadur Mal inaugurated the celebration of the Day by hoisting the National Flag and speaking on the importance of the occasion.
- 3-3-1968 : The Annual Sports of the Institute were concluded and at a special function prizes were distributed by the Director who exhorted the staff and students to take active interest in games and sports.

### Condolence Meetings

Meetings of the staff and students of the Institute were held on 30-11-1967 to record their grief at the sudden demise of Pt. Ramanand, erudite scholar and life-long research worker of the Institute, on 12-12-1967 to mourn the sad demise of Dr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, M.A., LL.B., LL.D., (New Delhi), Retd. Chief Justice of India, President of the V.V.R.I., on 27-1-1968 to condole the death of Shri M. S. Aney (Nagpur), eminent statesman and Honorary Member of the Institute, on 14-2-1968 to mourn the loss of Dr. Bal Krishan, P.C.M.S. (Retd.), M.L.A., (Hoshiarpur), well-known public worker, distinguished physician and Member of the Executive body of the Institute Society and on 1-8-1968 to condole the demise of Pt. S. D. Satavalekar, (Pardi), promoter of Vedic studies and Honorary Life-Member of the Institute Society.

### Visitors

A number of distinguished persons and scholars visited the Institute during the last year, among whom mention may be made of :



The Hon'ble Shri Bhakta Darshan, Dr. N. C. Chatterji, M.P.; Dr. Biswanath Das, Ex-Governor of U. P.; Dr. J. N. Kaul, Dr. P. B. Pandit and R. B. Dr. Mathura Das Pahwa, New Delhi; Shri Suraj Bhan, Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, Dr. U. C. Sarkar, Prof. G. P. Sharma and Prin. Inder Singh, Chandigarh; Prof. D. D. Menon, Shri Mohan Lal, Shrimati Subhadra Joshi and Prin. Vidya Vati Anand, Jullundur; Justice Shri Kesho Ram Passy, Patiala; Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur; Dr. U. P. Shah, Baroda; Shri Swami Aravindanand and Mahamandaleswar Shri Gangeshwaranand Ji Maharaj, Bombay; Prof. Surajan Singh, Dakshai (H.P.); Mahatma Sunya Bhai, Almora; Gyani Ram Singh and Dr. Savitri Chatrath, Amritsar; and Samant Jainacharya Shri Anand Rishi, Hoshiarpur.

#### EXTERNAL

**They are no more !**

- 12-7-1966 : Dr. Daisetz T. Suzuki, doyen of Buddhist studies in Japan and Director of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies, University of Tokyo, at Jokeiji, Kamakura (Japan) at the age of 96.
- 26-6-1967 : Dr. (Miss) Helen Moore Johnson, American scholar of Jainism, translator of the encyclopaedic work of Hemacandra, viz., *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, at Osceola, Mo. (U.S.A.), at the age of 78.
- 14-4-1967 : Prof. Charles A. Moore, international scholar in Eastern religions and Senior Professor of Philosophy and Director of the East-West Center, University of Hawaii, at Honolulu.
- 26-4-1967 : Kavisārvabhauma Y. Mahalinga Sastri, scion of the great Appayya Dikṣita and facile Sanskrit poet and playwright of Madras, at the age of 70.
- 9-7-1967 : Svami Aprabuddha (Vishnu Keshav Palekar), eminent scholar of the Veda, Sanskrit and Marathi and author of about twenty books, at Nagpur, at the age of 79.
- 24-7-1967 : Pt. Prayagadutta Shukla, well-known litterateur and historian of Madhya Pradesh, at Nagpur, at the age of 69.
- 21-8-1967 : Pt. Nand Dulare Bajpayee, well-known Hindi writer and literary critic and Vice-Chancellor of the Vikram University, at Ujjain at the age of 61.



- 21-8-1967 : Shri Shantipriya Dwivedi, outstanding scholar and exponent of the *Chayavad* school of Hindi poetry, at Varanasi, at the age of 61.
- 8-9-1967 : MM Dr. Umesha Mishra, well-known scholar of Sanskrit and Indian philosophy, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Shri Kameshwar Singh University, Darbhanga, and Founder-Secretary of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Allahabad, at Allahabad, at the age of 70.
- 15-9-1967 : Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, patron of Sanskrit and cultural studies and former Governor of Kerala and Uttar Pradesh, at Hyderabad, at the age of 68.
- 30-10-1967 : Pt. Agnihotram Desika Tatacharya, reputed Vedic scholar and recipient of the President of India's Certificate of Honour for distinguished Sanskrit Pandits, at Kumbhakonam.
- 22-11-1967 : Dr. A Chidambaranathan Chettiar, well-known scholar in Tamil and Editor, English-Tamil Dictionary, University of Madras, at Madurai, at the age of 60.
- 26-11-1967 : Pt. Ramanand, erudite scholar in Sanskrit and collaborator in the *Vedic Word-Concordance* and other projects of the V. V. R. Institute for nearly 40 years, at Hoshiarpur, at the age of 70.
- 6-12-1967 : Pt. Nilakantha Das, outstanding scholar, statesman, legislator and writer of Orissa, at the age of 81.
- 16-1-1968 : Shri Nakul Chandra Bhuyan, prominent litterateur of Assam and President of the Assam Sahitya Sabha, at Jorhat, at the age of 73.
- 17-1-1968 : Sāhityakuśala Pt. P. Gopalan Nair, prolific writer, eminent exponent of the Purāṇas, Upaniṣads and Vedānta and recipient of the President of India's Certificate of Honour for learning in Sanskrit, at Kollengode (Kerala), at the age of 101.
- 26-1-1968 : Shri M. S. Aney, deep scholar in Sanskrit and Marathi, outstanding nationalist and ex-Governor of Bihar, at Bombay, at the age of 88.
- 30-1-1968 : Dr. S. K. De, eminent scholar and writer on Sanskrit and Bengali, retired Professor of Sanskrit at Dacca and



Jadavpur Universities and ex-President of All-India Oriental Conference, at Calcutta, at the age of 78.

- 30-1-1968 : Shri Makhanlal Chaturvedi, eminent Hindi poet, nationalist and recipient of the Sahitya Akademi Award for Hindi, at Khandwa (M P.), at the age of 79.
- 1-2-1968 : Dr. A. R. Krishna Sastry, Retd. Professor of Kannada and deep scholar of Sanskrit, at Bangalore, at the age of 78.
- 17-2-1968 : Dr. Kailas Nath Katju, scholar and patron of Sanskrit, outstanding lawyer, administrator and statesman, at Allahabad, at the age of 81.
- 6-3-1968 : Dr. N. G. Chapekar of Poona, eminent scholar and prolific writer in Marathi, at Badlapur, at the age of 99.
- 8-4-1968 : Shri K. K. Raja, noted Sanskrit scholar and Malayalam poet, at Trichur (Kerala), at the age of 79.
- 8-4-1968 : Pt. Shivashankar Jha, renowned Sanskrit scholar of Mithila, at Darbhanga, at the age of 86.
- 10-6-1968 : Prin. N. Gopala Pillai, eminent scholar and writer of Sanskrit and Malayalam, and Editor, Malayalam Encyclopaedia, at Trivandrum, at the age of 67.
- 11-8-1968 : MM Bala Shastri Hardas, well-known Sanskrit scholar and Principal of the Bhonsle Veda-Śāstra Mahāvidyālaya, at Nagpur, at the age of 50.
- 29-8-1968 : Pt. Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya, eminent scholar, social worker, Arya Samaj leader and prolific writer on religious and cultural subjects, at Prayag, at the age of 87.
- 7-9-1968 : Shri Rambriksha Benipuri, one of the Founders of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and author of about 100 books in Hindi, at Muzaffarpur, at the age of 69.

### Scholars honoured

On the occasion of the Indian Republic Day on 26-1-1968, the undermentioned scholars were honoured with the title of *Padma Bhushan* by the President of India : Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu (Hoshiarpur), Shri S. D. Satavalekar (Pardi), Shri G. Sankara Kurup (Ernakulam), Shri S. Karanth (Mysore), Shri P. Thooran (Madras) and Shri V. S. Khandekar (Kolhapur). The honour of *Padma Shri* was conferred upon Shri C. Sivaramamurthi (Delhi), Shri D. R. Bendre (Mysore) and Shri S. R. Balasubrahmanyam (Madras).



Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, ex-President of India and of the Sahitya Akademi (Indian National Academy of Letters) and internationally renowned scholar-philosopher was conferred the first Fellowship of the Akademi by Dr. Zakir Husain, President of India and of the Akademi at a special function held at Madras, for the purpose, on 10-9-1968.

Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director of the V. V. R. I. and V. I. S. I. S., Hoshiarpur, has been elected by the Asiatic Society, Bombay, to receive the MM Dr. P. V. Kane Gold Medal for 1968 for outstanding contribution to Vedic studies and research.

Dr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, well-known Sanskrit scholar was awarded the said Kane Gold Medal for 1965 for his contribution to Dharmaśāstra, at a special function held by the Society in Bombay on 12-1-1968.

MM Dr. Gopinath Kaviraj, the veteran Sanskrit scholar of Varanasi, was honoured on 7-9-1967 at the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, by the presentation to him of an *Abhinandan Grantha* (Commemoration Volume) by the All-India Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow.

The centenarian Sanskrit scholar and propagator of the Vedas, Pt. S. D. Satavalekar was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by the Universities of Poona and Bombay at special convocations held, respectively, on 25-12-1967 and 26-3-1968.

The eminent historian and scholar in Sanskrit and Marathi, MM D. V. Potdar was conferred the degree of Doctor of Letters (*h.c.*) by the University of Poona.

Shri Prem Kirpal, well-known scholar and educationist, was conferred the honorary degree of D. Litt. by the Panjab University on 21-12-1967. Earlier during the year, Shri Kirpal had been conferred the honorary degrees of Doctor of Laws and Doctor of Sciences by the Temple University of Philadelphia and the Leningrad University, U. S. S. R., respectively.

### Jnanpith Award

The Second Annual award (1966) of Rs. one lakh for the best creative literary writing in any of the Indian languages has been won by the eminent Bengali writer Shri Tarashankar Banerjee. The Third Award (1967) has been shared by the Kannada writer Shri K. V. Puttappa and the Gujarati author Shri Umashankar Joshi.



### Nehru Fellowships

The first awardees of the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowships, as announced in May 1968 by the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund, New Delhi, include Dr. H. D. Sankalia (D. C. R. I., Poona), Shri C. Sivaramamurthi (National Museum, New Delhi) and Prof. Irfan Habib (A. M. University, Aligarh).

### Scholarship for Traditional Scholars

20 candidates have been selected by the Ministry of Education for the award, during 1968, of research scholarships of Rs. 200/- p.m. to products of Traditional Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālas.

### U. P. Awards for Sanskrit and Urdu

Swami Brahma Muni Parivrajak (Saharanpur) and Shri Ali Abbas Husaini (Lucknow) were selected for the top awards of 1967 for outstanding contribution to Sanskrit and Urdu, respectively, by the U. P. Puraskar Yojana Samiti, Lucknow.

### Watumull Awards

The Watumull Foundation Awards for 1967 were made, among others, to Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, Professor of Eastern Philosophy in the New York State University, Mrs. Praful Jayakar, eminent exponent of Indian arts, and Shri Balwant Gargi, well-known theatre historian and art critic.

### Award for Scribe

Shri Gokulbehari Patnaik of Puri was the recipient of a National Award from the President of India on 26-1-1968 for expert inscribing and drawing pictures on palmleaf.

### Sahitya Akademi

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, distinguished linguist and National Professor of Humanities was elected, in Sept. 1967, as the Vice-President of the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi.

Pt. Ramroop Pathak of Mithila has received the Sahitya Akademi Award for 1967 for creative writing in Sanskrit.

### Central Sanskrit Board

Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, former Vice-Chancellor of the Delhi University has been nominated (August 1967) as the Chairman of the Central Sanskrit Board, New Delhi.



### **N. S. Press Centenary**

The Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, the well-known printing and publishing house of Sanskrit, Hindi and Marathi books, celebrated its centenary on July 25, 1967.

### **B. O. R. I. Golden Jubilee**

The Golden Jubilee of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, was celebrated on 17-5-1968, with Dr. Zakir Husain, President of India, in the Chair, when Volume I of the Critical Edition of the *Harivamśa* and certain other publications were released. A documentary film on the Institute has also been prepared to commemorate the Jubilee.

### **Sanskrit University in Nepal**

A three-member Committee was set up in March 1968 to go into the question of the establishment, in Nepal, of a Sanskrit University.

### **National Sanskrit Vidyapith**

The All-India Sanskrit Vidyapith of the All-India Sanskrit Sammelan has been made a statutory institution from 1967 by the Government of India under the name 'Lal Bahadur Shastri National Sanskrit Vidyapith'.

### **Writ for the study of Sanskrit**

A case was filed in the Calcutta High Court by Prof. Dhyanesht Narayan Chakravarty of the Rabindra Bharati University for the quashing of the Resolution on Languages and the Official Languages Act of 1967, recently adopted by the Indian Parliament, and the Three-Language Formula, as violative of the provisions of the Indian Constitution, on account of their being detrimental to the study and development of Sanskrit. The Court issued, on 23-8-1968, a Rule on the Government to show cause why the writ should not be allowed.

### **Institute of Languages, H. P.**

The Government of Himachal Pradesh's Institute of Languages, set up for the promotion of and research on the dialects of the Himalayan region, was inaugurated at Simla on 29-3-1968.

### **Linguistic Survey of Panjab**

The Panjabi University and the Panjab Government Languages Department, Patiala, have, jointly, launched on a comprehensive Linguistic Survey of Panjab.



### National Centre of Art

A National Centre for the Performing Arts, aimed at the conservation and preservation of Classical and Folk Arts, Music, Dance and Drama has been established (1967) at Bombay under the auspices of the Tata Trust.

### Tamil Studies

Three Chairs for research in ancient Tamil language and literature, called *Tirukkural Chairs*, have been endowed, one each, in the Universities of Madras, Madurai and Annamalainagar, from the proceeds of the Second International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held in Madras in January 1968.

### Tibetan Studies

An Institute of Tibetan Studies started functioning at Varanasi on 1-1-1968. Its programme includes comparative studies of Indian and Tibetan literature and culture.

### Vaisali Museum

A full-fledged Archaeological Museum is being constructed at Vaisali (Bihar), the birth-place of Lord Mahāvīra, expounder of Jainism.

### Historical Records of India

The Home Ministry of the Government of India has reduced the 30-year period to 22 years, for making available for academic and research, Governmental records deposited at the National Archives, New Delhi.

### Central Asian Civilizations

The Unesco has launched a project for the study of Central Asian Civilizations which aims at furthering knowledge of the culture and better appreciation of the civilizations of Central Asia, Afganistan, Eastern Iran, West Pakistan and the Soviet Asian Republics.

### Search for Early Man

A project entitled *Search for Early Man* was inaugurated on March 17, 1968 in the Department of Anthropology of the Panjab University, Chandigarh, under the joint auspices of the Panjab and Yale Universities.

### Research Methodology

A 5-day Seminar on *Research Methodology on the Humanities* was held from August 13, 1967 under the auspices of the Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar.



## Sanskrit Learning through the Ages

A 3-day Seminar on *Sanskrit learning through the ages* was held from May 1, 1968 under the auspices of the Mysore University and the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

## Kālidāsa Festival

The annual *Kālidāsa Samāroha* was held at Ujjain from Nov. 12 to 17, 1967 under the auspices of the Vikram University Ujjain, and was inaugurated by Dr. Rajbali Pandey of the Jabalpur University.

## Darśana Pariṣad

A 4-day *Darśana Pariṣad*, being a Seminar in Sanskrit on Nyāya, Vedānta, Jaina, Buddha and Comparative philosophies was conducted by the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya from Dec. 23, 1967.

## Indian Linguistics

A 4-day Conference on *Current trends in Indian linguistics: Hindi*, was held at the Delhi University from April 5, 1968, under the auspices of the Delhi University and the American Institute of Indian Studies.

## Linguistic Terminology

A 7-day Seminar on *Linguistic Terminology* was held at the Deccan College, Poona, from 18 to 24, March 1968.

## Prākṛt Studies

A 4-day Seminar on *Prākṛt Studies* was held under the Directorship of Dr. A.N. Upadhye, from May 22, 1968 under the auspices of Shivaji University, Kolhapur. Several resolutions were adopted at the Seminar for the promotion of Prākṛt studies in Indian universities.

## Bharatiya Hindi Parishad

The 23rd Session of the Bharatiya Hindi Parishad was held from December 29 to 31, 1967, at Hyderabad under the auspices of the Osmania University.

## Conference of Tamil Studies

The Second International Conference-Seminar on Tamil Studies, sponsored by the International Association of Tamil Research and the Government of Madras, was held at Madras from January 3 to 10, 1968 and was presided over by Prof. Jean Filliozat of Collège de France, Paris.



### Jain Conference

The Third Session of the Jaina Svetambara Therapanthi Mahasabha, Calcutta, was held at Bombay between 27 and 29, January, 1968, under the presidentship of Acharya Tulasi, when nine publications, comprising of editions of and studies on the Jain canon, of the Mahasabha were released.

### Indian History Congress

The 29th Session of the Indian History Congress was held under the auspices of the Panjabi University, Patiala, from Dec. 30, 1967 to January 1, 1968. Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Director, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, presided.

### Indian Institute of Historical Studies

The Indian Institute of Historical Studies Calcutta, held its Fifth Annual Conference at Patiala on December 29, 1967, under the presidentship of MM Dr. D. V. Potdar.

### Historical Studies

A Seminar on *Modern techniques in Historical Studies* was held at the Delhi University in April 1967 under the joint auspices of the University Grants Commission, the British Council and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.

### Panjab History Conference

A 2-day Panjab History Conference was held on March 10 and 11, 1968 at the Panjabi University, Patiala, and was presided over by Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar, Head of the Department of History, Allahabad University.

### Rajasthan History Congress

The First Session of the Rajasthan History Congress met at Jodhpur on the 15th and 16th December, 1967 under the presidentship of Dr. M. L. Sharma, Director, Rajasthan Research Institute.

### M. P. Itihasa Parishad

The 4th Session of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad was held at Bhopal on January 13-14, 1968, under the presidentship of Prof. Sri Ram Sharma.

### American History Congress

The American History Congress of India conducted its fourth Session at Chandigarh on Dec. 26, 1967 and was presided over by Prof. M. S. Venkataramani.



## **Indian Archaeological Congress**

The First Indian Archaeological Congress was held at Varanasi on February 4 and 5, 1968 under the auspices of the Banaras Hindu University and was presided over by Dr. H. D. Sankalia of the Deccan College, Poona.

## **Museum Camp**

The Fifth Museum Camp conducted by the Government of India was held at the Birla Industrial and Technical Museum, Calcutta, from November 5 to 17, 1967 and was led by Prof. D. P. Ghosh, Head of the Department of Museology, University of Calcutta.

## **Seminar on Astrology**

An All-India Astrologers' Seminar and Exhibition was held at Jaipur in May 1968 under the auspices of the Rajasthan Astrological Research Study Circle, Jaipur.

## **IASLIC Conference**

The Indian Association of Special Libraries and Information Centres, Calcutta, convened its seventh biennial Conference in December 1967, at the University Campus, Delhi.

## **Congress of Reprography**

The Second International Congress of Reprography was held at Cologne (Germany) from 25 to 31, October, 1967, under the presidency of Prof. Dr. Helmut Arntz. Two sessions of the Congress were devoted to microcopying processes.

## **All-India Writers' Conference**

The 7th Session of the All-India Writers' Conference met at Mysore from April 12 to 16, 1967 under the auspices of the University of Mysore.

## **Seminar on Books**

A week-long Seminar on the production and publication of books was held under the auspices of the Southern Languages Book Trust, Madras, at Hyderabad between 22 and 28, October, 1967.

## **National Book Fair**

A National Book Fair was organized by the National Book Trust, India, in Delhi from 17 to 31, December, 1967, when about 10,000 books published in India since 1964 were displayed.



### Conference of Folk Arts

A 5-day Conference of Folk Music and Folk Arts was organised by the Sugam Sangit Unit of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, at Bombay, between June 10 and 15, 1967, when an Exhibition in these disciplines was also held.

### Seminar on Language and Society

*Language and Society in India* formed the subject of a 10-day Seminar convened by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, from 24-10-1967.

### Concept of Progress

The fourth All-India Seminar on *The Concept of Progress* was held under the auspices of the Centre of Advanced Study in Philosophy of the University of Madras from March 27 to 29, 1967.

### Devanagari Script

A 2-day Seminar on the *Devanagari Script* was convened at Delhi on Sept. 20 and 21, 1967 by the Ministry of Education and the Central Hindi Directorate. It discussed about the reforms needed in the Devanagari script for its being adopted for writing all Indian languages.

## INDOLOGY ABROAD

### Congress of Orientalists

The 27th Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, from August 13 to 19, 1967, was attended by about 2500 delegates from 54 countries. The Congress was presided over by Dr. William Norman Brown of the Pennsylvania University, Philadelphia.

### International Congress of Philosophy

The 14th Session of the International Congress of Philosophy was held from 2 to 9, September, 1967, at Vienna.

### International Association for Religions

A Study Conference of the International Association for the History of Religions was held at Bremen (Germany) from 11 to 17, September, 1967, the main subject for deliberation being 'The good and bad in religious history'.



A Study Conference of the International Association for the History of Religions was convened by the Israel Society for the Study of Religions, at Jerusalem, from July 14 to 19, 1968, under the Chairmanship of Prof. G. Scholem of the Hebrew University.

### **International Congress of Linguists**

The 10th International Congress of Linguists was held at Bucharest (Rumania) from Aug. 28 to Sep. 1, 1967. Prof. Ion Ghorghe Maurer presided over this session which was attended by 1400 delegates from 53 countries, including India.

### **International Congress of Iranologists**

The First International Congress of Iranologists was held at Tehran between August 31 and Sept. 6, 1966, the organisers thereof being the Pahlavi Library, Tehran.

### **Documentation**

The 33rd Conference of the I. F. D. and the International Congress of Documentation was held in Tokyo from Sept. 12 to 22, 1967.

### **IFD Conference**

A Conference of the International Federation for Documentation and the International Federation for Information Processing was held from June 14 to 17, 1967.

## **COMING EVENTS**

24th Session of the *All-India Oriental Conference* from Oct. 12 to 14, 1968, under the auspices of the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishva-vidyalaya, to be presided over by Acharya Dr. Vishva Bandhu, Director, V. V. R. I. and V. I. S. I. S., Hoshiarpur.

42nd Session of the *Indian Philosophical Congress* at Patna from Dec. 27 to 30, 1968, under the auspices of the Patna University.

*Ghalib Centenary International Seminar* at Paris from Feb. 14 to 20, 1969, convened by the Unesco.

An *International Conference of the Kushan Epoch* at Dushanbe (Tajikistan, U.S.S.R.) for nine days and at Samarkand for two days, in September-October 1968, under the auspices of the Unesco.

An *International Conference of Asian History*, between August 5 and 10, 1968, under the auspices of the University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.



6th Annual Conference of the All-India Institute of Historical Studies (Calcutta) at Srinagar from October 7 to 12, 1968, to be presided over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

An *International Seminar on India and Central Asia*, in December 1968, at Delhi, under the joint auspices of the Unesco and the Indian Council for Cultural Affairs.

A 2-day *Seminar on Panchang* (Systems of Indian almanac) on 19 and 20, November, 1968, at New Delhi, convened by the Director of Observatories, Government of India.

The 13th *International Art History Congress* at Budapest (Hungary) in the autumn of 1969, organised by the International Committee of the History of Art (Unesco).



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The items of information which are needed for the annotations are indicated in the Proforma which is attached herewith.

It will be appreciated if you might kindly extend your co-operation to us towards this project by filling in the said Proforma, or a copy thereof, with the necessary details in respect of your Doctoral Dissertation and sending it back to this Institute at the earliest, if you have not done so, already.

This Circular may please be brought also to the notice of the other Doctorate-holders attached to your Institution for their compliance in the above-said manner. Alternately, their names and addresses might be sent to this Institute so as to enable their being addressed directly.



THE HISTORY OF THE

INDIAN NATION

BY

DR. J. N. MOHANTY

MASTERS OF ARTS

MASTERS OF ARTS

## THE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATION

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*General Editor—VISHVA BANDHU*

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केशवानन्दयतिकृता

अनुभवानन्दलहरी

ANUBHAVĀNANDA-LAHARĪ

OF

KEŚAVĀNANDA YATI

CRITICALLY EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION

By

K. V. SARMA, M.A., B.Sc.  
*Vishveshvaranand Institute*

HOSHARPUR

VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE



प्रथमं संस्करणम्, १९६८

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## FOREWORD

The present volume, being issued as No. 42 of the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Series*, is a critical edition of *Anubhavānandalaharī* of Keśavānanda Yati, a learned sannyāsin of the Advaitic persuasion. The work forms an epitome of the teachings of the monistic system of Indian philosophy as enunciated in the Upaniṣads and as expounded by a long line of teachers beginning with the renowned Śaṅkarācārya.

The edition is based on the only known manuscript of the work, which is preserved in our Library. I have great pleasure in placing on record my appreciation of the work done by Shri K. V. Sarma of this Institute in presenting this valuable work before scholars in a critical edition with an informative Introduction.

I should also like to note with satisfaction the work done by the Publication Department of our Institute and the V. V. R. I. Press in bringing out this work in proper form.

VISHVA BANDHU

Vishveshvaranand Institute,  
Hoshiarpur,  
'Vijayadaśamī,'  
October 1, 1968.



FOREWORD

The present volume, being a reprint of the first edition, is published in the same form as the original. It is a reprint of the first edition of the work, which was published in 1900. The work is a reprint of the first edition of the work, which was published in 1900. The work is a reprint of the first edition of the work, which was published in 1900.

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## INTRODUCTION

The *Anubhavanandalahari* of Keśavānanda Yati, which is being critically edited here, from its only available manuscript, is a short introduction to the philosophy of Advaita Vedānta. In 54 well-knit verses, couched in the form a dialogue between a Disciple and his Teacher, the author has set forth, in a succinct manner, the principal tenets of Advaita as expounded by Śaṅkarācārya and the long line of teachers who followed him.

### Keśavānanda and his works

Keśavānanda Yati (-Svāmi or -Paṇḍita, as he is designated in some of his works) (c. 1800) was a highly revered *sannyāsin* with whom the appellations *Udāsīna* and *Paramahansa* were used. He was the disciple of Paṇḍita Paramahansa Gauradāsa, whom he mentions with respect in his works. The teacher-disciple line of Keśavānanda was continued by his pupil Prakāśānanda and his grand-pupil Śaṅkarānanda, the latter of whom produced free renderings in Hindi of some of Keśavānanda's writings.

Keśavānanda is the author of several erudite works, both on the traditional Advaita Vedānta and on the exposition of the advaitic basis of the teachings of Guru Nānak. His super-commentary on Govindānanda's gloss (*Ratnaprabhā*) on the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras* is available in print.<sup>1</sup> So also is his commentary, entitled *Prabhā*, on the *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaṅkarācārya.<sup>2</sup> His *Bhāṣya* on the *Piṇḍa-brahmāṇḍopaniṣad* has been rendered into Hindi by his grand-pupil Śaṅkarānanda.<sup>3</sup> The *Nanaka-Gītā* or *Adbhuta-Gītā*,<sup>4</sup> in eight chapters and the *Nirākāramīmāṃsā-darśana*,<sup>5</sup> in the form of sūtras, both ascribed to Guru Nānak have also been commented upon by our author. His

1. Ed. by Uddhavācārya Aināpure, in 3 vols., Sri Venkatesvara Press, Bombay, 1887.

2. Ed. with Hindi rendering called *Bhāvārthadīpikā* of Nārāyaṇamuni, Lakshminarayan Press, Moradabad, 1910.

3. Pub. Lakshminarayan Press, Moradabad, Sam. 1962 (A.D. 1905).

4. Ed. with com. called *Kaiśavapada* of Keśavānanda and the Hindi rendering of Śaṅkarānanda, Moradabad, Sam. 1958 (A.D. 1901).

5. Ed. with the *Bhāṣya* of Keśavānanda, a super-commentary styled *Svarūpadīpikā* by Svarūpasūri and the Hindi rendering of Śaṅkarānanda, Moradabad, Sam. 1959 (A.D. 1903).



*Gurudaśaka-stotra* and *Prātaḥsmaraṇa-stotra*<sup>6</sup> are also expository of the advaitic standpoint of Guru Nānak. *Anubhavānandalaharī*, the work edited here, expounds the essential preliminaries for an aspirant in the discipline of Vedānta, the nature of the Ultimate Reality, the experience of one who has attained realisation and the way of the Liberated Man (*Jīvan-mukta*).

### The Essential requirements of the aspirant

The prime requirement for a successful search after the Ultimate Truth is calm and deep concentration, on the part of the inquirer, over the how and why of things. Serious contemplation of this nature is possible only when one can control his mind and, thus, keep his thoughts away completely from the multitude of mundane thoughts which ever tend to fleet across one's mind. This mental control is to be achieved by the cultivation of four things, designated in Vedānta terminology by the term *Sādhana-catustaya*, viz., *Viveka* (discrimination), *Vairāgya* (dispassion), *Śama* etc. (mental tranquility etc.) and *Mumukṣā* (intense desire for emancipation) (2-3).<sup>7</sup>

*Viveka* is the discriminatory knowledge that the *Paramātman* (Supreme Being) is the Only Reality and that all else is but of a limited nature and is, ultimately, unreal (4-6). *Vairāgya* is constituted of an entirely dispassionate and detached view about everything around. The manifold allurements that confront one at the various stages of one's life do not have any effect on one who is really detached (7-13). *Śama* etc. are the six positive qualities which enable one to attain mental equanimity. *Śama* is the tranquility achieved by restraining the fickleness of the mind. By *Dama* is meant the effective control over the senses. *Śraddhā* is absolute faith in the Vedāntic tenets as expounded by the Teachers (14). *Uparati*, which is complete inner self-control, is achieved by continued yogic practices (15). *Samādhana* is the attainment of mental balance effected by means of crying halt to the fleeting thoughts of the fickle mind and engaging the latter in the study of the scriptures. *Titikṣā* is the capacity for enduring physical strain and external imbalances (16). The fourth and the most important requisite of the inquirer after Truth is *Mumukṣā* which is the intense and single-hearted yearning for *Mokṣa* (Emancipation) (17).

6. Issued as a composite volume under the title *Śrī-Guru-Nānaka-sahasra-nāma* etc., Sri Venkatesvara Steam Press, Bombay, Sam. 1972 (A.D. 1915).

7. The numbers here and below refer to the numbers of the verses in the text edited here.



### Experience of Liberation

After achieving the above-said four requisites, the seeker should resort to a competent Teacher and, under his guidance, concentrate on the One Supreme Being (18-20). He should feel that, in reality, he is distinct from the five outer sheaths (*pañcakośa*) which surround him (21). He should feel that he is beyond the three worldly states of existence, *viz.*, waking dreaming and sleeping (22). He should feel that he is auspicious, faultless, true, eternal and full ; formless and without a beginning and end ; is self-luminous, is an integral part of the spirit and is full of pure wisdom ; is enlightened and is without bondage (21-26). Once this state is reached, he becomes possessed of pure intellect and engrossed in the One Supreme Being. No more for him any entanglement in worldly travail (27).

### The Supreme Being

The nature of the Supreme Being is next touched upon. This Being is the One and Only Ultimate Reality, the Primeval Man (*Puruṣa*), the pure splendour, the creator and consumer of all, beyond illusion, limitless, represented by the syllable *Om*, the supreme Bliss (28-32).

### The Liberated Man

A dedicated aspirant who experiences the Supreme Bliss, as a result of the intensity of his application, becomes a Liberated Man even though he continues his earthly existence (*Jīvan-mukta*). He sees *Brahman* in everything around him, continues to concentrate on the Supreme Being, feels perfect beatitude and is affected neither by joy nor sorrow. He enjoys the peace of sound sleep even while awake ; he is not troubled by his past actions (*karma*) which would, already, have been effaced by his realisation of the *Brahman* ; he is free from egotism and is not vulnerable to temptation. He remains unaffected in the midst of passions, is untouched by desires, is free from lust and delights the hearts of all those who come into contact with him. Though outwardly he appears to continue worldly life, he is far from enjoying it and performs his daily rounds just as a matter of form. Ignoring the accident of worldly existence, he continues to acquire, more and more, the knowledge of the distinction between the real self (*Ātman*) and the non-self (*Anātman*). Instead of getting addicted to enjoyments, he keeps directing his one-pointed attention on the Supreme Brahman. He cultivates, in his mind, through constant practice, the divine tree of inquiry after Liberated Manhood, which will, ultimately, secure for him Final Liberation (*Kaivalya-mukti*) (33-41).



### The Ascetic and the Liberated Man

It is asserted that, intrinsically, there is no difference between the sage who attains self-realisation by dwelling in the forest and doing hard penance and the Liberated Man described above. For, the minds of both are completely unattached and both are immersed in the thought of the Supreme Brahman (42-47).

### The Liberated Man and Society

The possibility of even an ignorant worldly person being transformed into a Liberated Man and how such a person will live the rest of his life is stated towards the end of the work. Thus, once ignorance is removed by means of the procedure detailed above (2-41), illusion drops off, realisation of the transcendental Self (*Ātman*) dawns, benign beatitude is experienced, the Ultimate Truth is realised and the individual is transformed into a Liberated Man. He moves about in the world like the rays of the sun, which illuminate and purify whatever they fall upon, but are not polluted by anything that comes into contact with them. In such a state, any feeling of duality or fear of births and deaths does not arise and Blissful Conscience (*Cidānanda*), which is beyond words and thoughts, is experienced. He begins to consider his physical body only as a temporary chariot, the senses as the restive horses yoked to that chariot and the intellect as the charioteer. The conviction grows in him that, seated in that mundane chariot, he could enter into the state of Supreme Beatitude, which is the Final Emancipation.

### Manuscript Material

The present edition of *Anubhavānandalaharī* is based on its only available manuscript which is preserved in the Vishveshvaranand Institute Library, as No. 234. No manuscripts of the work have been recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* or in the revised and enlarged *New Catalogus Catalogorum* of the Madras University. Neither could any manuscript of the work be traced to the catalogues of the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts not used in the above two compilations. The recently published *Advaitagranthakośasaṅgraha* or the *Advaitagranthakośa* (Kanchipuram, n.d.) does not notice this work. However, the work had not remained entirely unknown, it having been issued as a booklet in 1903 (with the Hindi rendering of Śaṅkarānanda, Moradabad) and translated into English in the *Theosophist*, 20-21 (1898-1900). But the said edition is long out of print and copies are not available even for reference, which has been the present writer's experience while engaged in editing this work.



The manuscript used for the present edition is a complete and comparatively well-preserved exemplar in hand-made paper (6 folios, 30·5 cm. X 11 cm.), dated Sam. 1950 (A.D. 1894). The writing is very readable and is remarkably free from mistakes. The scribe has himself revised the manuscript, obliterating the errors in writing by the application of greenish yellow paint or by over-writing and by marginal additions. The reason for such careful transcription becomes clear from the post-colophonic statement of the scribe, Paṇḍita Śyāmadāsa, that he had prepared the manuscript for the use of his three sons and a grandson. Some explanatory notes are recorded in the margin of the manuscript and these have been included in the present edition in the form of footnotes.

### Acknowledgements

In the preparation of the present edition of *Anubhavānandalaharī*, I have had the help of Dr. S. D. Parashar of the Sanskrit Department of the Government College, Hoshiarpur, who read the text with me and Shri Raj Kumar of the General Indology Department of this Institute, who assisted me in reading in the proofs. I take this occasion to convey my thanks to both of them in this regard. My thanks are due, also to the V.V.R.I. Press for the neat printing and get-up of this book.

K. V. SARMA

Vishveshvaranand Institute,  
Hoshiarpur.  
'Vijayadaśamī,'  
1-10-1968.







## केशवानन्दयतिविरचिता अनुभवानन्दलहरी

\*यद्ब्रह्माद्वयरूपकं पुनरहो ईशश्च मायातनुः  
सूक्ष्मां सृष्टिकलां विधाय विधिवद्वैरण्यगर्भाख्यकम् ।  
स्थूलं स्थावरजङ्गमं च रचयद् वैराजरूपात्मकं  
सृष्टिं व्यष्टिमयीं<sup>1</sup> वलम्ब्य<sup>2</sup> विलसच् चास्तेऽपि तस्मै नमः ॥ १ ॥

शिष्य उवाच—

विविधदोषदशादलितं मनो  
मम न निर्वृति<sup>3</sup>मेति मनागपि ।  
ननु च तस्य पराक्रमण<sup>4</sup>क्रमं  
करुणया वद हे ! करुणाकर ॥ २ ॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

विवेकं वैराग्यं शमदमसमाधानवितर्ति<sup>5</sup>  
मुमुक्षां चासाद्यावगतवपुषं<sup>6</sup> श्रोत्रियगुरुम् ।  
समित्पाणिः सृष्ट्वा विगतमलमाश्रुत्य सुगुरोः  
परब्रह्मानन्दं श्रुतिशिखरवेद्यं<sup>7</sup> वितनुषे<sup>8</sup> ॥ ३ ॥

\*The scribe's prefatory statement here reads : ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।  
श्रीमत् परमहंसपण्डित-केशवानन्दविरचिता अनुभवानन्दलहरी मया लिख्यते । प्रारम्भः ।

Marginal notes in the Ms.

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 1. देहोऽहमिति परिच्छिन्नाम् । | 2. भागुर्याचार्यस्य मतेन अकारलोपे सति 'अवलम्ब्ये'ति ।        |
| 3. अखण्डानन्दम् ।             | 4. वशीकरणम् ।  |
| 5. शमादिसाधनषट्कमिति ।        | 6. साक्षात्कृतब्रह्मात्मानं ब्रह्मनिष्ठम् ।                  |
| 7. वेदान्तवेद्यम् ।           | 8. समाधिपरिपाकक्रमेणानुक्रमेण अनु-<br>भवारूढतया वर्धिष्यसे । |



शिष्य उवाच—

विवेकः कः प्रोक्तः<sup>१</sup> कथमपि च लभ्यः सुललितः<sup>२</sup>  
 कथं चायं स्वान्ते प्रभवति<sup>३</sup> विभो ! भो ! दृढतरः ।  
 इमं मे सन्देहं विषविटपिनं छिन्धि कृपया  
 गुरुं हि त्वां हित्वा कथय कथमेष्याम्यचलनम्<sup>४</sup> ॥ ४ ॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

परात्मैको नित्यो निखिलमतिबोद्धातिविमलः  
 परानन्दः पूर्णः स्थिरचरणो चिद्धनतनुः ।  
 अनित्यं तद्विन्नं सकलमपि दृश्यं परिमितं  
 विवेकोऽयं बोधो<sup>५</sup> गतदृढयमोहैः समुदितः ॥ ५ ॥

यथा पांशुव्याप्ते मलिनमुकुरे श्वेतकपिशौ  
 विविक्तौ दृश्येते कथमपि नवालोकशततः ।  
 तथात्मानात्मानौ मलमतिविविक्तौ न भवत-  
 स्ततस्त्यक्त्वा कामं यजनभजनार्दि<sup>६</sup> कुरु हरेः ॥ ६ ॥

शिष्य उवाच—

स्वरूपं हेतुं चावधिमपि च कार्यं सुविमलं  
 गुरो वैराग्यस्य प्रवद वदतां श्रेष्ठ ! भगवन् ।  
 मुमुक्षां जिज्ञासे शमदमसमाधानसुधनं<sup>७</sup>  
 परानन्दं जाने न च वरद ! तस्यापि<sup>८</sup> चिततिम् ॥ ७ ॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

ब्रह्मेन्द्रादिसमस्तभोगविभवास्त्याज्या मया सर्वदा  
 वैराग्यस्य वपुर्मनीडितिमतिर्दुष्टा इमे कारणम् ।  
 भोगे लम्पट्तातिस्त्रिवर्तनमिदं कार्यं च तस्यामलं  
 भोगानां तृणतुल्यबुद्धिदृढता<sup>९</sup> सीमेति सङ्कीर्तिता ॥ ८ ॥

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|---|-----------------------|
| 1. ज्ञानस्वरूपप्रश्नः ।   | 2. विवेकसाधनप्रश्नः । |
| 3. विवेकहानिहेतुप्रश्नः ।   | 4. निश्चयम् ।         |
| 5. विवेकस्वरूपनिरूपणम् ।  |                       |
| 6. यजनस्य निष्कामकर्मरूपस्य विवेकहेतुत्वम् उपासनारूपभजनस्य विवेकदृढताकारणतेति बोध्यम् । |                       |
| 7. शमादिसाधनसम्पदम् ।   | 8. परमानन्दस्य ।      |
| 9. अवधिः ।  |                       |



लक्ष्मीं मत्तमनोरमां मृतिफलां रूपादिपुष्पाततां  
नानानर्थकदर्थसाध्वसबलां व्यालावली<sup>१</sup>सङ्कुलाम् ।  
विद्युद्वत् क्षणभङ्गुरां विषलतां श्वभ्रं शरीरं श्रितां  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मृत्युस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ ९ ॥

बाल्यं रोगशताकुलं हितहरं<sup>२</sup> शान्तेः कुठारं परं  
युक्तयुक्तविवेकशून्यहृदयं मूर्खादिसङ्गाश्रयम् ।  
<sup>३</sup>नानादोषदशाविलुब्धमनसा मातङ्गवच्चञ्चलं  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मृत्युस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ १० ॥

आधिव्याधितरङ्गजालजटिलं तृष्णानदीनां गृहं  
हेयाहेयविकल्पकल्पनमहावर्तं विवेकाहितम् ।  
कामक्रोधमहाभूषं जलनिधिं मान्यामतं<sup>४</sup> यौवनं  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मृत्युस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ ११ ॥

व्याधिव्यालगृहं विवेकविकलं<sup>५</sup> ह्याशापिशाच्याश्रयं  
चिन्ताजर्जरिताङ्गलोभदलितं कान्तादिहासास्पदम् ।  
आलस्यादिजलेन पूर्णमभितो जीर्णं जराकूपकं  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मृत्युस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ १२ ॥

भोगान् भोगिसमान् कुरोगविषदान् देहद्रुमं संश्रितान्  
कान्तां कान्तिकुठारिकां कतिपर्यैर्मूढैः<sup>६</sup> समालम्बिताम्<sup>७</sup> ।  
एवं स्वर्गरसातलादिविभवान् कष्टं कदर्थप्रदान्  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मृत्युस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ १३ ॥

चेतश्चञ्चलतानिवर्तनमलं<sup>८</sup> प्रोक्तं शमं सज्जनै-  
र्नैत्रादीन्द्रियनिग्रहं दमपदेनोक्तं मुनीनां मतम् ।  
वेदान्तादिगुरूक्तवाक्यविततिः सत्येति श्रद्धां मतिं  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मुक्तिस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥ १४ ॥

1. लक्ष्मीपक्षे व्यालाः क्रोधादयः ।

2. मोक्षावाप्तौ शत्रुं, प्रतिबन्धकम् ।

3. चन्द्रप्रार्थनादिः ।

4. समुद्रपक्षे सदास्ताननिषेधान्मान्या-  
मतम् ।

6. भोगलम्पटैः ।

7. परमपुरुषार्थतया श्रिताम् ।

8. निःशेषमिति यावत् ।



योगप्रोक्तयमादि<sup>१</sup>कारणवर्ती स्वान्ते निरोधस्थिति<sup>२</sup>  
विक्षेपादिनिवृत्तिकार्यनिपुणां शान्तात्मभिः सेविताम् ।  
निद्रावद् विषयक्षयामुपरति<sup>३</sup> मान्यैमुनीन्द्रैर्जुतां  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मुक्तिस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥१५॥

निद्रांतं विषये चलं तमपि वा संरोध्य चित्तं चिरं  
सच्छास्त्रश्रवणेऽस्य योजनमिदं साध्यं समाधानकम् ।  
शीतोष्णादिसहिष्णुतां प्रतिदिनं दिव्यां तितिक्षाभिधां  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मुक्तिस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥१६॥

भ्रान्तोऽनेकशरीरवृक्षवितते जीर्णे जगज्जङ्गले  
नानादुःखदरिद्रदावजटिले मुक्तः कदा स्यां ततः ।  
इत्येवंपरिचिन्तनात् समुदितामिच्छां मुमुक्षामिमां  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मुक्तिस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥१७॥

वैराग्यादिमुमुक्षुतान्तवितर्ति प्रोक्तां मया ज्ञानदां  
शास्त्राभ्यासविवर्धितां प्रतिदिनं सद्भिः समालम्बिताम् ।  
आत्मज्ञानसमाधिनिष्ठकथितां वेदादिसम्बोधितां  
त्वं चेदाश्रयसे विवेकमतिमन् ! मुक्तिस्तदा ते ध्रुवम् ॥१८॥

इमानुपायान् परिपाल्य<sup>४</sup> शान्तधीः  
शास्त्राब्धिपारावरगामिनं गुरुम् ।  
सम्प्राप्य भक्त्या परिपृच्छ्य यत्नत-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्य<sup>५</sup>भावनम् ॥१९॥

नाज्ञाननाशो न च रागभञ्जनं  
न चापि जन्तोर्जननादिसंक्षयः ।  
भवत्यपि ज्ञानसुधानिधि<sup>६</sup> विना  
ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२०॥

१. “यमनियमासनप्राणायामप्रत्याहारधारणाध्यानसमाधयोऽष्टावङ्गानि” इति पातञ्जलं सूत्रम् ।  
(योगसूत्रम् २.२९ )
२. इदमुपरतेः स्वरूपकथनम् ।
३. सुषुप्तिवद्विषयविस्मृतिरुपरतेः सीमेति भावः ।
४. सम्प्राप्येत्यर्थः ।
५. भव्या कैवल्यप्रदा भावना यस्य तद् ब्रह्मेत्यर्थः ।
६. “तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति । नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय” इति श्रुतेः ।

(वेताश्चतरोपनिषत् ३.८)



यदा हि पञ्चात्मककोशभिन्नता  
स्वके स्वरूपेऽधिगता दृढा भवेत् ।  
तदाऽऽत्मतत्त्वं विमलं<sup>१</sup> प्रकाशते  
ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२१॥

त्रिधा ह्यवस्थाश्चित्तिनैव चित्तगा-<sup>२</sup>  
स्तासां तुरीयो<sup>३</sup>ऽस्मि दृगेव केवलः ।  
अयं विशुद्धोऽनुभवो भवापह-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२२॥

शिष्योऽस्मि शान्तोऽस्मि निरञ्जनोऽस्म्यहं  
सत्योऽस्मि नित्योऽस्मि निरन्तरोऽस्म्यहम् ।  
अयं हि बोधो भवपाशनाशक-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२३॥

अनाद्यनन्तोऽस्म्यणुतोऽप्यणुर्महा-  
स्थूलादपि स्थूलतरोऽस्मि सर्वतः<sup>४</sup> ।  
अयं हि बोधो भवपारतारक-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२४॥

स्वतः प्रकाशोऽस्म्यजडोऽस्मि सर्वदा  
विशुद्धविज्ञानधनोऽस्मि सर्वथा ।  
अयं च बोधो बुधवर्यसम्मत<sup>५</sup>-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२५॥

अचिन्त्यरूपोऽस्मि विमुक्तबन्धनः  
शुद्धोऽस्मि बुद्धोऽस्मि कलादिवर्जितः<sup>६</sup> ।

1. देहोऽहमित्याद्यध्यासरूपमलविक्रलम् ।
2. जागरितेऽपि मनोव्यापारानुपरतात् सुषुप्तौ कारणात्मना मनसोऽवस्थानाच्च जागरित-  
सुषुप्त्योरपि चित्तगतत्वं बोध्यमिति ।
3. “अमात्रश्चतुर्थोऽव्यवहार्यः” इति श्रुतेः (माण्डूक्योपनिषत् १२) ।
4. “अणोरणीयान् महतो महीयान्” इति श्रुतेः (श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत् ३.२०) ।
5. अद्वैतनिष्ठशङ्कराचार्यादिसम्मतः ।
6. “निष्कलं निष्क्रियं शान्तं निरवयम्” इति श्रुतेः ( श्वेताश्वतरोपनिषत् ६.१९ ) ।  
अवयवादिरहितं इत्यर्थः ।



अयं हि बोधो रविबद् विराजते  
ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२६॥

इमं हि बोधं परिचिन्तयन् जनो  
विशुद्धचित्तश्चित्तिचिन्तनैषधीः ।  
भवभ्रमं नैति विनिष्ठबन्धन-  
स्ततोऽद्वयं भावय भव्यभावनम् ॥२७॥

शिष्य उवाच—

शुद्धं बुद्धं शान्तिविशेषाकरमेकं  
ब्रह्मानन्दे मग्नमनोभिर्भजनीयम्<sup>१</sup> ।  
वन्दे वन्द्यं त्वां परमेशं रमणीयं  
जिह्वासेऽहं भावनयोग्याद्वयरूपम् ॥२८॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

यस्माज्जातं दृश्यमशेषस्थितिहेतो-  
र्यस्मिन्नन्ते लीनमशेषं जगदेतत् ।  
यस्मिन् शुद्धे दृश्यशतांशोऽपि न भातो  
ब्रह्माद्वैतं भावय सत्यं विततं भोः ॥२९॥

सच्चिद्रूपं लोकपतीनामपि भूषं  
मायातीतं मानविहीनं<sup>२</sup> मुनिमान्यम् ।  
यद्वैदानैर्योगविधानैर्गमनीयं<sup>३</sup>  
ब्रह्माद्वैतं भावय सत्यं विततं भोः ॥३०॥

भोगासक्तैर्भावविहीनैर्<sup>४</sup> च लभ्यं  
भावाभावं<sup>५</sup> प्रत्ययहीनं प्रणवाख्यम्<sup>६</sup> ।  
नानावेदैः<sup>७</sup> शास्त्रसमूहैरधिगम्यं  
ब्रह्माद्वैतं भावय सत्यं विततं भोः ॥३१॥

1. ब्रह्मानन्दनिमग्नजीवन्मुक्तशिष्यमण्डलिमण्डितम् ।
2. अप्रमेयमित्यर्थः ।
3. समाधिसाधनैः प्राप्यमित्यर्थः ।
4. भेदवादिभिः ।
5. अस्ति-नास्तीति प्रत्ययाविषयमित्याद्यर्थाः ।
6. ओङ्काराख्यम् ।
7. “सर्वे वेदा यत्पदमामनन्ति” इति श्रुतेः, (कठोपनिषत् २, १५) “तत्तु समन्वयात्” इति सूत्राच्च । ( ब्रह्मसूत्रम् १.१.४ )



## अनुभवानन्दलहरी

इष्टानिष्ट<sup>1</sup>द्वन्द्वविहीनं पुरुषाख्यं  
नित्यानन्तानन्दनिधानं नमनीयम् ।  
भेदाभेदभ्रान्तिकलङ्कैर्न च लितं<sup>2</sup>  
ब्रह्माद्वैतं भावय सत्यं विततं भोः ॥३२॥

शिष्य उवाच—

ब्रह्माद्वैतनिरूपणेन भवतो<sup>3</sup> बोधो मयासादितो  
जीवन्मुक्तिमहाफलो बुधवरैर्योऽहर्निशं धार्यते ।  
जीवन्मुक्तिमिता विशुद्धमनसो ब्रह्मैकनिष्ठात्मकाः  
के ते ब्रह्मविदां वरिष्ठ ! वद मे शङ्का यथा शास्यतु ॥३३॥

श्रीगुरुस्वाच—

ब्रह्माकारमनोमतिर्व्यवहरच्चात्मैकदृष्टिः सदा  
मानामानविहीनबुद्धिविमलः शान्तिं परामाश्रितः ।  
दुःखादुःखदशासु यस्य च मनो नास्तं भवेन्नोल्ले-  
ज्जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मान्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३४॥

यो जागर्ति सुषुप्तां<sup>4</sup> परिभवन् यस्यास्ति जाग्रन् नैवै<sup>5</sup>  
र्यो बोधेन विदग्धवासनतया जन्मादिनाऽऽनाकुलः ।  
योऽहङ्कारकुपाशमुक्तमतिमान् लोभेऽप्यलितोऽचलः  
जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मान्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३५॥

रागद्वेषभयादिभिः<sup>6</sup> परिरमन् रागाद्यसत्कात्मको  
योऽन्तर्व्योमवदच्छतामनुभवन् कामाद्यलिसात्मकः ।  
शान्तासारकलामलो<sup>7</sup>गतकलश्चेतश्चमत्कारको<sup>8</sup>  
जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मान्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३६॥

1. अहेयोपादेयमित्यर्थः ।
2. भेदस्य कल्पितत्वात् तन्निरूपितभेदेऽपि न वास्तवो धर्म इति भावः कथित एवेति ।
3. तत्तः, श्रीगुरोः सकाशात् ।
4. सुषुप्तस्य सावधिकानन्दानुभवात् निरवधिकानन्दानुभववान् जीवन्मुक्त इति भावः ।
5. जागरितवृत्तावभिमानशून्य इति भावः ।
6. अज्ञहशा कल्पितैः ।
7. आसारविषयाकारवृत्तिमलविकलः ।
8. दर्शनमात्रेणाह्लादकारकः ।



नानाचारविचारनीतिनिपुणो<sup>१</sup> धैर्यं धुरं धारयन्<sup>२</sup>  
 अन्तस्त्यक्तकुभोगरोगकलनो<sup>३</sup> भोगादिभोक्ता बहिः ।  
 आत्मीयादिकुदृष्टिकालविकलो<sup>४</sup> कर्तृत्वसङ्कल्पको  
 जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मन्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३७॥

संसारे सरणोन्मुखे<sup>५</sup> विरसदे<sup>६</sup> हित्वा महारण्यके  
 ह्याशापाशशताकुलात्मजनतामेकात्मभूमौ स्थितः ।  
 आत्मानात्मविवेकवृत्तिमभितः सम्पादयन् यः स्वयं  
 जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मन्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३८॥

शुद्धां शान्तमतिं मदादिविकलां प्राप्यां शुभैः कर्मभि-  
 र्दृष्ट्याकारविकारकान्तिविधुरां<sup>७</sup> ब्रह्मैकनिष्ठां नयन् ।  
 ब्रह्मानन्दसमुद्रमग्नमतिदो भोगेषु नासज्जते  
 जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मन्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥३९॥

भेदालोककलङ्कपङ्कपतनं<sup>८</sup> हित्वा विशुद्धा मति-  
 व्यर्थानर्थकदर्थनादिरहिता<sup>९</sup> यस्यातुला निश्चला ।  
 सच्चिच्छुद्धिविशुद्धिरूपललिते लीना परब्रह्मणि  
 जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मन्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥४०॥

जीवन्मुक्तिविचारणेयममला कैवल्यमुक्तिप्रदा  
 रूढा यस्य विचारलम्पटदृशश्चित्तस्थले निर्मले ।  
 अभ्यासामृतसेचनादुपचिता मन्दारशाखा शुभा  
 जीवन्मुक्तिमितः स एव मुनिभिर्मन्यो मुनीन्द्रो महान् ॥४१॥

1. नानाचारविचारनिपुणो वसिष्ठः । विचारनीतिनिपुणो जनकः ।  
 2. रामचन्द्रः । 3. श्रीकृष्णचन्द्रः । 4. श्रीशुकदेवो मुनिः ।  
 तथा चोक्तम्—

कृष्णो योगी शुकस्त्यागी नृपौ जनकराघवौ ।

वसिष्ठः कर्मकर्ता च पञ्चैते ज्ञानिनः स्मृताः ॥

इति । एते गृहस्थाश्रमिणो ज्ञानिनः ।

5. प्रतिक्षणं विनश्वरे इत्यर्थः । 6. नानानर्थक्लेशप्रदे इत्यर्थः ।  
 7. दृष्ट्यात्मकविकारकामनाविधुरामित्यर्थः ।  
 8. भेददृष्टात्मकमलिनपङ्कावृत्तिमिति भावः ।  
 9. परमार्थप्रयोजनशून्यभोगप्रार्थनाविकला इत्यर्थः ।



अनुभवानन्दलहरी

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शिष्य उवाच—

गुरो ! ज्ञानमूर्ते ! नमस्तेऽस्तु नित्यं  
समाधिस्थितो वा विहर्ता जगत्याम् ।  
प्रबुद्धात्मतत्त्वानुभावेन वर्यौ<sup>१</sup>  
तयोः कोऽधिको ब्रहि मे ब्रह्मनिष्ठ ! ॥४२॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

प्रबुद्धो वने संस्थितः शान्तचित्तः  
प्रबुद्धश्च यो वा प्रवृत्तौ निमग्नः ।  
अनासक्तचित्तौ चिरं चिन्निमग्नौ<sup>२</sup>  
समौ मुक्तिमन्तौ परब्रह्मनिष्ठौ ॥४३॥

मनोमत्तमातङ्गमारोध्य शुद्धे  
परानन्दकन्दे यतीन्द्रैः प्रबुद्धे ।  
परब्रह्मणीशे सदा धारयेते  
समौ मुक्तिमन्तौ परब्रह्मनिष्ठौ ॥४४॥

न कर्ताऽस्मि<sup>३</sup> भोक्ता न गन्ताऽस्मि मन्ता  
जडासङ्गसङ्गेन<sup>४</sup> सक्तो न चाहम् ।  
जगत्सारकर्तेति<sup>५</sup> यौ भावयेते  
समौ मुक्तिमन्तौ परब्रह्मनिष्ठौ ॥४५॥

न भूम्यादिविश्वं<sup>६</sup> मनोबुद्धिमत्ता  
जनिर्नो मृतिर्नो न जिज्ञासतेति ।  
न बद्धो न मुक्तो दृढं भावयेते  
समौ मुक्तिमन्तौ परब्रह्मनिष्ठौ ॥४६॥

1. यद्यपि तथापीत्यध्योपहारः ।
2. अपुनरावृत्तिलक्षणैकतानतां प्राप्तौ ।
3. प्रत्येकामिप्रायेणैकवचनं सर्वत्र बोध्यम् ।
4. जडाविषया आसज्यन्ते यस्मिंस्तत् जडासङ्गमन्तःकरणं, तत्रासङ्गस्तादात्म्याध्यासः, तेन ।
5. चैतन्याधीनसत्तास्फूर्तिकृत्वाज् जगत इति भावः ।
6. “न निरोधो न चोत्पत्तिर्न बद्धो न च साधकः ।  
न मुमुक्षुर्न वै युक्त इत्येषा परमार्थता ॥” (गौडपादकारिका २.३२)  
इति श्रुतेः । “नेह नानास्ति किञ्चन” इति श्रुतेः (बृहदारण्यकोपनिषत् ४.४.१९) ।



मया पूर्वगीतं द्वयोर्यद्वि साम्यं  
प्रबुद्धानुभूतं वसिष्ठादिमान्यम् ।  
'तदादाय संसारपारङ्गतौ यौ  
समौ मुक्तिमन्तौ परब्रह्मनिष्ठौ ॥४७॥

शिष्य उवाच—

गुरो ! शुद्धेऽबद्धे परमविमले मग्नमतिमन् !  
कथं पङ्के मग्नाविमलतनुका<sup>१</sup>मुक्तजनता ।  
ततो जीवन्मुक्तो विहरति कथं मे वद विभो !  
द्रुतं मे सन्देहानलजटिलचित्तं शमय भोः ॥४८॥

श्रीगुरुवाच—

परिक्षीणेऽज्ञाने विगलति सति भ्रान्तिजलदे  
निरायासस्थाने समधिगत आत्मन्यतितते ।  
विकल्पौधे लूने ललितसुखदे<sup>३</sup> सैन्धवघने  
परिज्ञाते तत्त्वे जगति रविभाभं<sup>४</sup> विहरणम् ॥४९॥

विभिन्ने दुर्भेदे सततमृतिजन्मादिभयहे  
चिदानन्दाद्वैते कतिविधपरिच्छेदविधुरे ।  
मनोवाचातीते श्रुतिविविधगीतेऽतिविमले  
परिज्ञाते तत्त्वे जगति रविभाभं विहरणम् ॥५०॥

प्रसन्ने चित्तत्वे पररससमास्वादभरिते  
भवातीते भव्ये भवमुखसुरेशैरधिगते ।  
गुणातीते सत्ये सकलविकले<sup>५</sup> मायिकपरे  
परिज्ञाते तत्त्वे जगति रविभाभं विहरणम् ॥५१॥

रथोऽस्थायी देहश्चपलतुरगाश्चेन्द्रियगणो  
महाबुद्धिः सूतः परमसुखधाम्न्यद्य निविशे ।  
रथारूढोऽहं नो जननमरणानर्थग इति  
परिज्ञाते तत्त्वे जगति रविभाभं विहरणम् ॥५२॥

1. सम्पत्तिमित्यर्थः ।
2. अर्थासादिमलविकलात्मस्वरूपा चेत्यर्थ इति भावः ।
3. निरतिशयानन्दे इत्यर्थः ।
4. अनासक्तिपूर्वकमिति यावत् ।
5. सावयवसूक्ष्मदेहस्थूलदेहविधुरे । “ न तस्य कार्यकारणं च (? कार्यं करणं च) विद्यते”  
इति श्रुतिः । (स्वेताश्वतरोपनिषद् ३.१९)



इदं जीवन्मुक्तव्यवहरणमासाद्य मतिमान्  
य आधत्ते<sup>१</sup> स्वान्ते शमदमसमाध्याद्युपचिते ।  
परब्रह्मानन्दं समनुभवति भ्रान्तिरहितो  
भवेत् कैवल्यत्मा विधिहरिहरप्राप्यमहिमा ॥५३॥

आनन्दकारीं लहरीमिमां शुभां  
श्री-केशवानन्दयतीन्द्रनिर्मिताम् ।  
गायन्ति शृण्वन्ति विचारयन्ति  
कैवल्यमुक्तिं परियन्ति ते ध्रुवम् ॥५४॥

इति श्रीमदुदासीनपरमहंसपण्डित-श्रीगौरदासचरणारविन्दमिलिन्दायमानस-  
श्री-केशवानन्दयति-निर्मिता अनुभवानन्दलहरी  
समाप्तिमगमत् ।<sup>२</sup>

1. श्रद्धया धारयतीत्यर्थः ।

2. Post-colophonic scribal statement : संवत् १९५० मासोत्तमे ज्येष्ठे मासे कृष्णे पक्षे  
नवम्यां बुधवारान्वितायां मेषस्थमार्तण्डयुक्तायां लिपीकृतमिदं पुस्तकम् अनुभवानन्द-  
लहर्याख्यं पण्डित-श्यामादासेन गुर्जरजातीयब्राह्मण-दाक्षिणात्यवंशजेन मारुलपुरनगर-  
स्थायिना स्वसुत-श्रीनिवास-गोकुलनाथ-शङ्करनाथ-तत्सुत-दीनानाथ-मत्पौत्र-पठनार्थम् ।  
श्रीरस्तु । संवत् १९५० ।

शुभं भवतु तस्यैव यस्यैषा पुस्तकी वरा ।

लेखकपाठकयोश्चैव द्रष्टृणां च विशेषतः ॥१॥

शृण्वतां चैव सर्वेषां दृष्टानन्दास्तु येऽभवन् ।

विपरीतास्तु ये केचित् तेषां वै चाशुभं भवेत् ॥२॥

यादृशं पुस्तकं दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया ।

यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥१॥



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